BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI

A PUBLIC WORKER OF SOUTH AFRICA

BY

PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL, M.A.

PUBLISHED BY

THE INDIAN COLONIAL ASSOCIATION

AJITMAL, ETAWAH, (U.P.), INDIA

First Edition } 1939 { **Price Rs. 1/12/-**

Published by

B. N. MITTRA,
The Indian Colonial Association,
Ajitmal, Etawah (U.P.), India

Printed at
The Fine Art Printing Press
Ajmer (India)



SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI

(1936)

CONTENTS

PART I

PART II

PART III

INTRODUCTION

I have often heard it being said by some of our distinguished countrymen that there is a dearth of biographical literature in India and that we have not been able to perpetuate the memory, ideals and services of many of our Indian luminaries in various spheres of life. This has prevented us from paying them deserved tributes for their great sacrifices and excellent public work. Apart from this question, there is one more aspect of this, that the posterity would lament the dearth of biographies, which act as stimulus to those, who wish to engage in similar works. Also the experiences, as recorded in them, of those people, who now adorn the history of the country, help them to guide and control their own line of work. In fact, it is the most important and valuable part of the literature of every country. I should, therefore, be happy on being able to add my mite to enrich this branch of our literature.

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, whose life and work I have tried to describe in so many pages, is an Indian, born and brought up out of India—in South Africa, of the Indian parents, who reached there under the Indenture Labour System. Himself a colonial born, he got numerous opportunities to see the sad plight of his countrymen in South Africa, and all this led him to decide to devote most of his time in the service of the Indian people settled in Overseas countries like South Africa, East Africa, Dutch Guana, British Guana, Trinidad, Fiji, Mauritius, etc., and he was successful in bettering their lot to a great extent. While working for them Swamiji did not forget his responsibilities as a builder of greater India and for this purpose he carefully co-ordinated all of his activities and also

of those whom he guided, to push the cause still further. I venture to think, his services to greater India are unique, and that he is first among the colonial born Indians, perhaps Indians in general also, who has constantly and consistently worked to build greater India on a solid foundation. His service to Overseas Indians in general, and his contribution to the building of greater India entitle him to be placed in the rank of National Workers, and as such he deserves to be written down in a biographical sketch.

The life of Swamiji will serve one more immediate useful purpose of arousing greater interest in the cause of Overseas Indians, which is not receiving due attention from the Indian public at the present moment. It will throw, I am sure, a good deal of light on many of the facts as to how Indians are being treated in South Africa and elsewhere and how by dint of their hard labour they had been able to improve their conditions of life and work.

While my main occupation was to deal with various phases of Swamiji's life, I have taken liberty at places to go in a little detail about certain facts and events, just to show the trend of events in South Africa and other countries so far the problems of Indians Abroad are concerned: and many others I have to ignore after having made a touching reference to them mainly because of the vastness of the problem. These digressions may seem unjustified, but they will, I am sure, arouse a little more interest in the questions of my countrymen settled abroad, among the Indians, particularly my readers, which the life of this public worker of South Africa is bound to kindle. It is but one object of writing out this biographical sketch. His life is also so very closely connected with the events there that it becomes necessary to refer to them to enable the readers to get a realistic view of his life and work.

Swamiji has been leading a dedicated life in the cause of his country. In order to render greatest possible services to it he decided to carve out an entirely different career for himself in a sphere, which was not very well cared for by other prominent Indian nationalist workers. To do his work almost single-handed, he has had to utilize each and every opportunity and all resources. Much of the work was done by himself in various capacities. As a journalist and author he wrote to the press extensively. He also made use of the pulpit and thus tried his best to awaken the people to the needs of Overseas Indians, and successfully championed their cause. He joined and opened societies with the same end in view and worked in various spheres—political, social, religious, etc.

There may be mistakes in the book, both in language and in the method of presentation of the facts of his life for obvious reasons. In fact, I have had little time to remain with Swamiji to study him from close quarters. The distance of thousands of miles stood in my way since he was in South Africa at the time of writing the present book. However, I shall be grateful to my readers if they will kindly bring to my notice any omission or error that might have crept in. This, I hope, to rectify in the second edition of the book and in the Hindi edition of this, which is expected to be pubiished for the Hindi-knowing section of our people.

I must also acknowledge with thanks the information, suggestion and help given to me by Shri Brahamadutt, the youngest son of Swamiji in the preparation of this book.

I shall deem my labour amply awarded if my readers begin to take greater interest in the affairs of our nationals settled abroad, in whose cause Swamiji has been working and which is so dear to him, and which, by the way, is also dear to me.

New Year's Day
1939.
AJITMAL,
ETAWAH, (U. P.), INDIA.

PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL



THE AUTHOR

SHRI PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL, M. A.

APPRECIATIONS

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress:—

I have personally known Swami Bhawani Dayal now for many years and since my knowledge of the history of South African Indians—prior to my personal acquaintances with him—I have known of his name and services. Close contact has deepened that intimacy, and my affection and respect for him have increased as I became further aware of his qualities and activities.

When Swamiji visited India in 1930 and took part in the *Satyagrah* movement in the District of Arrah, we found out what an indefatigable worker he was inspite of his ill-health.

Swamiji, as the representative of Indians abroad, had often visited India and he never spared himself in the service of the South African Indians, and during these visits he obliges us with his cordial and mutual relation.

Apart from his political and social work, he had played a great part in the propagation of Hindi. We Biharis are proud of the fact that he belongs to our Province and although living miles away from us he has not forgotten Bihar.

I believe that Swamiji's biography should be an inspiration to the youths in moulding their lives; and his sacrifices, services, activities and patriotism should ever serve as an ideal and guide to them.

(Translated from Hindi)

Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak, Honorary Secretary, Indians Overseas Association, London:—

I well recall Swami Bhawani Dayal's arrival in Natal, when I was myself resident there, and it fell to me to help him through the immigration formalities. Naturally, it was impossible to estimate then the value of the services that he would render to the Indian community in the course of the years to pass. I am glad to know that an appreciation of those services is to be written and I add this brief testimony of my own recognition of the usefulness of Swami Bhawani Dayal's career in South Africa and elsewhere in advocating the cause of his countrymen in the Union and particularly in Natal. The latest tribute to his character and qualifications is his recent election as President of the Natal Indian Congress.

I wish him many more years of useful service.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, the great and sincere friend of India and Indians abroad:—

I have known Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi for very many years ever since I first came out to South Africa in 1913-1914. He has been of the greatest service not only to the Indian community in South Africa where he has lived for the last 26 years, but also to Indians Overseas in other parts of the world. I have lived with him at his Bhawan at Jacobs outside Durban and have had the greatest pleasure in sharing his hospitality. It is good that he has been at last elected President of the Natal Indian Congress in appreciation of the many services which he has rendered to the Indian community in that country. I am very glad that a biography is now being written in English about him and it is a pleasure to me, even at this time when I am forbidden by the doctors to do much work, to send these few lines of appreciation about him.

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, C. I. E., former Agent-General for India in South Africa and Ex-Home Member for the Government of United Provinces, India:—

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi was one of my most valued friends in South Africa. He is a gentleman of high character and possessed of modesty and a spirit of sacrifice which is beyond praise. He has also great ability and experience. His devotion to the interests of Indians not only in South Africa but in other parts of the world has made his name an honoured one in India. Natal Indians are to be congratulated on electing him as the President of their Congress.

The Swami's valuable services were always at my disposal when I was Agent General for India in South Africa and for this I owe him a deep debt of gratitude. Long may he live to help the cause of India and Indians in South Africa.

PART I

BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI

LIFE AND CAREER

CHAPTER I

PARENTS

BHAWANI Dayal Sannyasi is the eldest son of Babu Jairam Singh and Shrimati Mohini Devi, who were inhabitants of Bihar and the United Provinces in India respectively. His mother was illiterate but exceedingly beautiful, while his father could read Hindi and write a little in *Kaithi* characters.

When Babu Jairam Singh was a young man he was recruited and sent to Natal, where he served his white masters for a period of five years under the then existing indenture labour system. He was very honest and hard-working, and these qualities of his character enabled him to earn a lot of money with which he later purchased two villages in his native province in India, when he returned home in 1904 from South Africa. His personal qualities of honesty, sincerity and industry made him very popular

among his countrymen in South Africa. The Indian people honoured him by electing him the President of the Transvaal Indian Association. He was also fortunate to enjoy the confidence of Mahatma Gandhi, who used to treat him as his brother and faithful friend. Mahatma Gandhi has made a kind reference to him in his autobiography, '*The Story of My Experiments with Truth*', which indicates his regard for him and throws some light on his character. Here is the extract from Chapter XIV of Vol. II:—

'The clients always surrounded me. Most of them were originally indentured labourers from Bihar and its neighbourhood and from South India. For the redress of their peculiar grievances they had formed an association of their own, separate from that of the free Indian merchants and traders. Some of them were open-hearted, liberal men of high character. Their leaders were Sjt. Jairam Singh, the president, and Sjt. Badri, who was as good as the president. Both of them are now no more. They were exceedingly helpful to me. Through these and other friends, I came in intimate contact with numerous Indian settlers of North and South India. I became more their brother than a mere legal adviser, and shared in all their private and public sorrows and hardships.'

Shrimati Mohini Devi died in Johannesburg in 1899, just before the outbreak of the Anglo-

Boer War, when Swamiji was only a child of six. Babu Jairam Singh was a refugee for about three years in Durban during the war. After a short stay in Johannesburg, he left for India in 1904 and settled down at his own village, Bahuara, in the district of Arrah, Bihar, where he expired on June 8, 1911.

CHAPTER II

BIRTH

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal was born in the famous city of Johannesburg in South Africa on September 10, 1892. It is this very city where Mahatma Gandhi started his Passive Resistance Movement in 1907, which subsequently attracted so much attention of the world, when it was applied in India. It is now the largest, most beautiful and most flourishing city, in the whole of South Africa. The population of Johannesburg is, at this time, more than half a million, and most of the gold mines are situated in its vicinity. It is one of the few African towns of which at least the name, if not the fame, is known throughout the world.

Johannesburg is subject to occasional frost in winter, but rarely to snowstorms. The piercing cold winds are then trying, aggravated as they are by dust, though not so much as before trees were extensively planted and the roads properly

surfaced. But as a set-off against these draw-backs of altitude, there are marked advantages. The winter days are generally sunny, and made doubly delightful by the sparkling mountain air, an air a little dry perhaps until you get used to it, but thereafter remarkably exhilarating.

The ridges and valleys occupied by Johannesburg lend themselves to picturesque effects in landscape gardening and architecture. It has been truly said that the rose gardens of Johannesburg are as delightful as those of the Cape; the lawns as trim and smooth as those which border the Thames; and the plantations of firs, pines, and gums as flourishing as though indigenous. The pleasant side of Johannesburg life is found, in its villas, bungalows, and mansions, each with its garden or large pleasure grounds, with never the sight of a cyanide dump or the noise of a mining battery, but the sparkle of the sunny day and the calm of the high veld night.

This is the Johannesburg of the white settlers, but there had existed another, equally the reverse —the Johannesburg of the Indians, which was termed as the 'location.' If one had a perspective view of the city from a lofty horizon, he undoubtedly would have found the same contrast as between heaven and its counterpart. This location was set aside by the Municipality for the use of the Indians. There being no other residential area for the Indians, the location

naturally became overcrowded. There was no sanitation, neither good roads nor lights. The Municipality was evidently responsible for these conditions of the location.

Swåmiji spent his early days of childhood in this depressing environment. Owing to the bad sanitary conditions and lack of hygienic life in the location, an hideous plague broke out in the location. Swamiji along with his family had to move to the detention camp at Klipspruit Farm, lest they should have caught the contagion. As a result of this epidemic, the stands of the Indians were wickedly burnt down by the municipality, and thousands of Indians were deprived of shelter.

Years have passed since the bonfire of that particular location, yet similar locations still exist in the Transvaal. There is another location situated just close to Johannesburg, which cannot be described better than by the following remarks of the Lange Commission:—

"But our worst experience by far was at Vrededorp, a township close to Johannesburg, and within its municipal limits, which was originally established by President Kruger for the benefit of indigent Burghers of the Republic. There are two locations, one for Asiatics and the other for Natives. They adjoin one another, and are separated from the European portion of the township by a single street. But no effort

seems to be made to keep the inhabitants of the two locations apart. We found many natives and Cape coloured people as well as Indians in the Asiatic location. The members of the Commission were guided through the location by the Municipal Medical Officer of Health, and made close and thorough inspection of its conditions, which were found to be appalling. It is difficult to conceive a worse slum existing in any part of the world. We found the inhabitants huddled together in small hovels amidst indescribable filth, and leading a most insanitary mode of life. And this was the state of things existing within the Municipality of Johannesburg, the wealthiest and most populous town in South Africa and within a little more than a mile of its magnificent Town Hall."

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

IT was in this city where Swami Bhawani Dayal acquired his early English education in the St. Cyprain's School and Wesleyan Methodist School. He naturally loved his mother-tongue, Hindi, even while dwelling in the atmosphere of western culture. Although he was not conscious of the following facts revealed by Fielding Hall, he actually acted in the same manner:—

"That the Indians are often honourable and cultured gentlemen I knew, that in essence, all humanity is one I am never tired of affirming. But there are differences of race, real differences, important differences, differences that the Indian himself should be the last to try to ignore. Every nation is given by nature the qualities peculiar to it, and which it is its duty to cultivate for the world's sake. To attempt to sink your individuality in that of another, is an injury not only to yourself, but to the whole world. An Indian gentleman cannot be an Englishman. It is no use his trying. He only makes himself absurd. By blind imitation they attempt to attain virtues not inherent in them, and they ignore other virtues which are inherent and necessary to the world. They seek after impossibilities and so negative the achievement of possibilities. They deny their own nature."

So, therefore, apart from his English education, Swami Bhawani Dayal also made a keen study of Hindi in a private school conducted by Pandit Atmaram Narshiram Vyas, a Gujarati Brahman. Swamiji had not the occasion to get an academic qualification, but certainly he gained a practical knowledge in the progress of life. When the Anglo-Boer War and subsequently the Russo-Japanese War were being fought, he used to listen with eagerness the accounts of the battles. Even in that tender age, the patriotism

of the Boers and the Japanese impressed him greatly. . .

During this period he was not ignorant of the hardships, which his countrymen were undergoing there. His father was the president of the Transvaal Indian Association, and, therefore, the people used to assemble at his residence to discuss political affairs.

Before his education was over, Swamiji had to leave for India with his father, which he, however, continued in the Motherland. It was during this memorable period in that Golden City of South Africa, that he got acquainted with Mahatma Gandhi, who was to become, in course of time, one of the greatest men of India, nay, of the world.

CHAPTER IV

IN MOTHERLAND

IT was in the year 1904, when Swami Bhawani Dayal first came to India with his father and younger brother; and lived here for a period of eight years and a half. He, however, did not have the occasion, later in life, to spend so long a time in his Motherland, though he made several and repeated trips to India after every three or four years. In fact, it was his longest sojourn in Hindustan. He did not miss the opportunity of visiting many parts of India,

although he spent most of the time in his own village in the province of Bihar. Here he spent many valuable years of his boyhood; here he was able to complete his unfinished academic career. Many noted tutors were engaged to teach him privately as he did not go to school. He made a special study of the Hindi literature, of which, he afterwards became a distinguished scholar.

It was during this period and at this place that seeds of service and sacrifice were sown in him, and here he cultivated those qualities, which later made him a *pacca* patriot. He was very much affected by the partition of Bengal, which was the burning question of the day. He took active part in the Swadeshi movement, moving from village to village, urging the people to boycott the British goods, and preaching the gospel of nationalism.

He was burning with patriotism, thinking about India and India alone, and asking to himself: "Ah! India is in bondage to-day; the holy land of Rama and Krishna, of Buddha and Ashoka, of Pratap and Shivaji, of Akbar and Shahjehan, is rotting under the foreign domination. What is our response to the call of Mother India, who is dressed in the mourning attire owing to the loss of her freedom? For the sake of this very independence, millions of Rajputs and Sikhs, Mahrattas and Musalmans, laid down their lives and bade farewell to this mortal world.

Oh! We, the children of those, and none else, what are we doing to liberate our Motherland? If we will determine to be free, no nation of the world can keep us in bondage."

He was also attracted by the scheme of national education and opened a school in his village known as *Rashtriya Pathshala* (national school). In this school he used to call all the boys of his village and teach them how to read and write, without expecting any return from them.

In 1910, at the age of eighteen, he was married with Shrimati Jagrani Devi, the talented daughter of Babu Ram Narayan Rai, who was a respectable Zamindar of Sakhra, a village in the Sasaram Sub-Division of Arrah.

While in India, he was also entrusted with the Zamindari work of his father and widowed mother-in-law. As a Zamindar, he was very liberal, and his sense of responsibility was unquestionable. He did not give up the courage of his conviction as is unfortunately the case with most of the Zamindars. An instance can be quoted here, to show the sense of justice and fairplay, which dominated his character. His father, once being very enraged with an impudence of a tenant, punished him by having his whole crop grazed and destroyed by a herd of cattle. This unfair and unjust action of his father was openly resented by Swamiji and he made

good the tenant's loss by giving him thirty maunds of grain.

At this time he also got deeply interested in the movement of *Arya Samaj*, a powerful organisation founded by Rishi Dayanand to revolutionise the religious and social order of the day. Swamiji was so influenced by the teachings of the Rishi that he formed an *Arya Samaj* in his own village, and played such an important part throughout his life in this movement of reformation, which justifies a separate chapter of his activities in this connection. I will only mention here that he was made an honorary preacher by the *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha* of Bihar, at the immature age of eighteen. It is also remarkable that he was appointed the assistant editor of the *Aryavartta*, a monthly magazine published from Patna.

His father died in 1911. He had to surrender the whole of the estate to his step-mother, in favour of his step-brother and sister. It may be added here that his father re-married in India and got a son and a daughter from his second wife, who survived him. Immediately after the death of his father, some mischievous people instigated his step-mother to lay her claim on the entire estate, and there appeared some possibility of litigation. But Swamiji did not give her a chance to indulge in useless domestic quarrels, for he gave up all the estate to her, and

thus got rid of the responsibility of looking after her children.

CHAPTER V

UNWELCOMED IN THE UNION

THUS having been deprived of his father and the legitimate share in the estate, Swami Bhawani Dayal decided to return to South Africa. After a brief correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, he left India for Natal in the first week of December, 1912, with his wife, his baby-son, younger brother and his wife. Ill-luck did not spare him yet, and accompanied him to South Africa.

As soon as he touched the shores of Natal, Swamiji fell a victim to the Immigration Act. None of his family members were allowed to land by the Immigration authorities, and all were detained on board the ship for four days. The procedure adopted by the Immigration Officer was unjustified, high-handed and wantonly cruel.

It is an interesting story which Mr. Polak narrated in the course of his relevant letters to the Minister of Interior. Here are some of the important extracts:—

"You are probably aware that I am an admitted attorney of the Supreme Court for the Transvaal Provincial Division and that I am Editor of the *Indian Opinion*, I am at the present time

resident in Durban, qualifying for admission to practice in the Province of Natal. Whilst on a visit here recently, Mr. Gandhi handed to me a matter relating to the arrival from India of Messrs. Bhawani Dayal and Devi Dayal, with their wives, and the infant child of one of them, by the *S. S. Palamcotta*, which reached here on Sunday afternoon, December 22, 1912. The young men were born in the Transvaal, and have property in Natal, and, instructed by their friends here, I proceeded to the ship, and learned, late the same evening, that the cases would be reserved until next day for the consideration of Mr. Cousins, the Acting Chief Immigration Officer.

"On Monday, however, Mr. Cousins was engaged in Court nearly the whole day. Meanwhile, I lodged with him an affidavit from a responsible and highly respected member of the Transvaal Indian community certifying to the identity of the immigrants and testifying, of his own knowledge, that they were in the Transvaal on May 31, 1902, on which fact they based their claim to enter the Transvaal, under Act 36 of 1908.

"Mr. Cousins did not return to his office until late on Monday, and had not come to a decision in the matter when the office closed for the day. On Tuesday, I attended at Mr. Cousins' office, and was informed by him that he had not in any way considered the claims of the parties

to make application to enter the Transvaal, that he did not intend to consider these claims without instructions from the Registrar of Asiatics, that he had not sought instructions from the latter officer, and that he had no intention of doing so, leaving it to the applicants, at that late hour, to communicate with the Registrar. I at once, on their behalf, telegraphed to the Registrar, setting forth the facts of the case and asking for an instruction to the officer here to land the applicants and their families on visiting passes, to enable them to satisfy the Transvaal authorities of their right to enter that Province. The reply that I received late in the evening showed that the Registrar had not properly appreciated the basis of their claims. Late in the afternoon of the 24th, not then having received a reply from Pretoria, I telephoned to Mr. Cousins, asking him in the circumstances, and especially as the weather was most inclement and the ship was to coal, to land these parties on visiting passes, they to make the usual deposits, and I gave my personal undertaking to produce them when their attendence was required. He returned a curt refusal, declining to give me any reasons therefor.

"As it was then too late to communicate further with the Registrar, and the vessel was to leave on the return voyage to India early on Boxing Day, I proceeded, acting on instruction

from the friends of the applicants, to instruct Messrs. Goodricke and Laughton, a firm of local attorneys, to apply for an interdict against Mr. Cousins and all other parties, to prevent the removal of the applicants pending the consideration of their claims by the Transvaal authorities. At my agents' request, I notified Mr. Cousins of the applicants' intention to apply for an interdict immediately, and asked him to inform me of his probable whereabouts on Christmas Day, so that the order of the Court, if obtained, might be served upon him. He replied that his whereabouts would be uncertain. I strongly protested against this reply, on the ground that the course of justice and the liberty of the applicants should not be made to depend upon his private engagements. To this he replied that he could give me no further information. On the morning of Christmas Day, Mr. J. S. Tatham, K. C., of Maritzburg, applied to Mr. Justice Broome, at his residence, for an interdict against Mr. Cousins and all other parties, as above stated, and an order was granted, providing for the lodging of security to the amount of £100 with the Immigration Officer before the landing of the applicants and their families. Beyond this proviso, the order was unconditional.

"Mr. Tatham telephoned to me of the fact of the granting of the order which I at once communicated at his request to the officer in

attendance at the Immigration Office, with a request to convey the information to Mr. Cousins, together with a message from Mr. Tatham that he could not, owing to the closing of the telegraph offices, telegraph the order of the Court until between 5 to 6 p. m. that day. Later, Mr. Tatham again telephoned me, giving me the text of the order, and asking me to send it on his behalf to Mr. Cousins. I did this, enclosing in my letter a cheque for £ 100 from Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, one of the most influential and highly respected Indian merchants here. Mr. Cousins was not to be found until nearly 6 p. m., and then he discourteously complained to my messenger who had been looking for him all the afternoon (I was myself partially disabled by an injured knee) about the time for delivering the letter, which he declined to accept, as also the cheque. Being informed of what had transpired, at great personal inconvenience, owing to the injury, above referred to, I proceeded to Mr. Cousins' residence, taking with me £ 100 in cash for the release of the parties. He told me, in an offensively curt manner, that I had no right to serve an order of the Court upon him, in spite of the fact that I was acting as Mr. Tatham's agent, as I had informed him in writing. He refused to accept the £100 cash that I had brought with me, and declined to land the applicants

and their families, as ordered by the Court, until he received Mr. Tatham's telegram, but he undertook not to deport the parties. He asked me to call at his office at 9 a. m. next day. I did so, and was asked to precede him on board the ship, and I went there expecting the immediate release of the parties. I was asked to wait, and did so for about half an hour. Mr. Cousins then came to me and informed me that he had received Mr. Tatham's wire, but that as the order of the Court made no mention of the purpose for which the security was to be lodged, he intended, as a condition to the landing of the applicants, that they should sign a document empowering him to keep them under restraint in the Detention Camp and to use the amount lodged for the maintenance there of themselves and their families, pending the decision of the Transvaal authorities.

"I pointed out that such a procedure, apart from other grounds, was quite unnecessary, as they were respectable persons, and that I had already expressed a willingness to be personally responsible for their due appearance. This Mr. Cousins entirely refused to consider. I then informed him that his proposed action was unlawful, as it went far beyond the terms of the order of the Court, which required the lodging of security of £ 100 with him, prior to the landing of the parties, that the order made no mention

of personal restraint, that the security was ther and then offered to him, that the parties wer thereupon entitled to land in freedom for the prosecution of their claims, and that I shoulc advise them of the illegality of his proposec action and ask them to refuse to sign the document. Mr. Cousins thereupon told me that could tell them what I pleased, that unless they signed the document he refused to land them, unless the Judge who made the order expressly ordered him to land them unconditionally. accordingly informed the parties of Mr. Cousins demand and advised them not to sign the document. This they agreed to do. I then tolc them to tender him the amount of the security ordered to be lodged with Mr. Cousins by the Court. This they did, but he refused to accept it, unless they signed the document. The captain of the vessel thereupon attempted to collect the money, which had been left by the applicants on an adjacent table at the disposal of Mr. Cousins, in order to hand it over to the latter. Mr. Cousins thereupon informed him that he touched the money at his own risk. I thereupon inquired and discovered from the captain that he had not been informed by Mr. Cousins of the fact that an interdict had been taken against him in regard to the parties, or of the terms of the order of the Court, and I at once proceeded to acquaint him with the facts, and warned him that Mr. Cousins and he were liable

to an action for contempt of the order of the Court, if the parties were removed from the jurisdiction of the Court, or were not landed in terms of the order of the Court, and I drew his attention to the tender of the security and Mr. Cousins' refusal to accept the money. Mr. Cousins then asked the captain to take note that the steamer must be delayed until the Judge's further instructions were received, and that the delay was caused by my advising the parties not to sign the document, which they had previously agreed to sign. I replied that I was there to protest against an illegal demand, to demand the landing of the parties in accordance with the plain terms of the order of the Court, and that Mr. Cousins had misinterpreted the order to the parties, who, in any case, were too young and too ignorant of the facts to be able to sign a document of the kind produced, with a full knowledge of what they were doing.

"Mr. Cousins seems to have been much incensed by my reply, for after again threatening the applicants that, unless they signed, they would not be allowed to land, he asked me if I were a Natal practitioner, and upon my replying in the negative, he insultingly ordered me to go ashore immediately, and further insulted me by ordering an officer to escort me off the ship, though I had in no way demurred to going, as I

was anxious to obtain telephonic communication with Maritzburg in order to put an end to an impossible situation. After my departure from the vessel, Mr. Cousins once more threatened the applicants with not permitting them to land if they did not sign. As they understood this threat to mean that they and their young wives would be sent away again, and being without any friend to whom they could appeal for help, they at length signed, and they were then landed and taken to the Immigration Office under escort. Meanwhile, having obtained communication with Mr. Tatham, in Maritzburg, I explained the situation to him and asked him to inform the Judge of what had transpired and to request him to state whether he had meant to order that the applicants should land in custody and should so remain until their cases were decided, and that the security lodged with the Immigration Officer was to be used for their maintenance during such period. As I had anticipated, the Judge at once stated that this was not intended by his order, and I then asked Mr. Tatham to make that statement to Mr. Cousins. When I returned to the Immigration Office, Mr. Cousins informed me that Mr. Tatham had communicated with him and that he was issuing visiting passes to the parties.

"On December 27, I inquired of Mr.

Cousins whether, as agent for the Registrar of Asiatics, he would accept their applications for registration under Act 36 of 1908, for transmission to and examination by the Transvaal office. He declined to do so without instructions from the Registrar, and my clients have been obliged to forward informal applications to the Registrar, owing to the shortness of time before the expiry of the interdict.

"Subsequently to the despatch of the applications for registration of Messrs. Bhawani Dayal and Devi Dayal, and having also forwarded supporting affidavits and other documentary evidence and relevant information, I was asked by him to send the Applicants to the Chief Immigration Officer, Natal, who, however, informed me, on January 4, that he had received no instructions. It thus appears that Mr. Cousins had failed to notify the Registrar of the Applicants' desire to comply with provisions of the Act, and of which I had acquainted him on December 27, and had placed the whole onus of action upon them without informing them of the fact. On January 6, I was informed by the Chief Immigration Officer that he had been instructed to take the applications, which were made *de novo*, on the official forms. On the same day, in the course of an interview, I reminded the Immigration Officer that the order of the Supreme Court,

requiring the Applicants to take action in a competent Court within fourteen days of the date of the order, December 25, ran as from January 3, in accordance with the Rules of the Court, the intervening days being Court holidays. To this he made no reply. I also asked him to hasten the despatch of the applications to the Registrar, so that the Applicants would have ample time to take legal action, should this become necessary. When, however, I applied next day for a further extension of the visiting passes, which had been issued to the Applicants on December 26, and extended to that day, I was astonished to learn that the Immigration Officer refused to extend them on the ground that the Order of the Court, which was expressed to run until further order, expired that day. I protested energetically against this arbitrary refusal, pointing out that the applications, which had only been despatched the day before could not have yet been received by the Registrar, by whom they still had to be considered, that the order of the Court still ran, and that the Applicants were under no immediate obligation to take legal action to enforce their claims. My protests, however, went unheeded. The Order required that, upon the lodging with the Immigration Officer of the security demanded, the Applicants were to be unconditionally released. Notwithstanding this, he had

obliged them to take the above-mentioned visiting passes, and had allocated the sum of £ 40, out of £ 100 security, as deposits thereon, of which £ 10 was, on January 6, refunded to Mr. Bhawani Dayal, when he was allowed by the Honourable the Minister to remain in Natal, on the strength of his education test.

"Section 31 of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1903, as amended by Section 5 of the Act of 1906, provides that a person who has entered Natal upon a visiting pass, and who is found in the Province after the time allowed by such a pass, as extended, shall suffer forfeiture of his deposit thereon. The Applicants were, therefore, faced with the alternatives of having their visiting pass deposits forfeited and of being obliged to institute costly legal proceedings for the recovery thereof, or of leaving the Province immediately if they wished to save the deposits. Having in consideration the fact that they could not take legal action, as contemplated by the order of the Court, in any Natal Court, upon their claims to enter the Transvaal, and that they could not approach the Transvaal Courts, until their claims had been rejected by the Registrar, and their appeal against his decision dismissed, the Applicants felt that it would be preferable for them to proceed at once to the Transvaal, where they could procure unimpeachable evidence in support of their claims, even at

the risk of being arrested at Volksrust as prohibited immigrants. They accordingly left for the Transvaal on the night of January 7, and I accompanied them, in order to facilitate their journey and appear on their behalf in the Transvaal, should necessity arise.

"Upon arrival at Volksrust, the whole party were detained, and I asked that they should be brought before the Magistrate, but it was explained that the instructions of the Registrar must first be sought. A telegram was despatched to that official, stating the circumstances and that I was prepared to proceed to Pretoria with the Applicants, so as to submit further evidence to him. On the evening of the 8th, a reply came, instructing the police to prosecute the Applicants and their wives at once as prohibited immigrants, unless they immediately returned to Natal, where they were wanted for contravention of the immigration laws of that Province. The latter statement was wholly incorrect, for Mr. Bhawani Dayal was not regarded as a prohibited immigrant in Natal, and the others had a right to be there during the pendency of the order of the Court. Upon my request, and after I had narrated the circumstances of the case, the Magistrate granted a remand to Pretoria until the 16th. Later I submitted further evidence to the Registrar, who agreed to a further remand until the 30th, but before that date, I was notified

that the claims had been admitted and that the charge was withdrawn. Registration Certificates have since been issued to the Applicants, bearing the names of their wives. I would here remark that whilst the Transvaal authorities have accepted the evidence produced by Mr. Bhawani Dayal that his wife is in fact his wife, the same evidence was not accepted previously by the Natal Immigration Officer, and the ludicrous position arises that Mrs. Bhawani Dayal, so long as she remains in the Transvaal, is safe from molestation at the hands of Immigration officials, but that she is liable to arrest and summary deportation should she accompany her husband to Natal."

While this attracted extraordinary public attention, it caused a lot of mental worry and physical trouble, and a good deal of financial loss too, to Swami Bhawani Dayal. The reason for greater public interest in this particular case was that the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale had just returned to India after an extensive tour of South Africa which he visited with a view to studying the conditions of domiciled Indians, under which they had been living there for more than half a century, and because he was assured of a liberal administration of this very Immigration Act by the responsible Ministers like General Botha and General Smuts, which was, however, ruthlessly applied in the case of

4

Swamiji. This gave them a chance to realise their actual helpless position.

CHAPTER VI

GREAT INDIAN STRIKE

BEFORE Swamiji was able to settle down peacefully, after this unhappy experience, the question of starting the Passive Resistance began to agitate the mind of the Indian people. Mahatma Gandhi sent a final warning to the Union Government stating that unless assurances of the introduction of legislative and administrative measures, in the following session, were given, to recognise in the new law the validity of *de facto* monogamous marriages, to remove the racial bar, as regards the Free State, to restore the right of entry into the Cape Colony to South African-born Indians, to repeal the £ 3 tax imposed on the indentured Indians who had come after 1895, and to administer justly and with due regard to vested interests existing legislation operating harshly against Indians, Passive Resistance would be immediately revived. Had the Union Government accepted these minimum demands of the Indians put forward by their leader, Mahatma Gandhi, an important experiment, which he later on applied in India with marked success, would have remained unused. But the warning was ignored, and the

struggle was resumed in all its bitterness and on a much wider scale than before. The Indians of South Africa are justly proud of having proved the value of *Satyagrah*, for the first time, to India and the world. In fact, for the historic value and importance, this South African chapter ought to be written with golden letters in the history of the *Satyagrah* Movement.

The Passive Resistance was actually started in September, 1913, when Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi, Kaka Rustomji and some inmates of the Phoenix Settlement were sent to jail. Both Bhawani Dayal and his wife decided to join the struggle, in spite of their financial worries and unsettled affairs. Mrs. Bhawani Dayal met Mahatma Gandhi in Johannesburg and discussed the matter with him. Mahatmaji first tried to dissuade her from her determination by telling her the woe and misery of the prison-life, but subsequently he had to give his consent, when he found that she was prepared to undergo all kinds of suffering for the sake of national honour. Of all the remarkable incidents connected with the Passive Resistance struggle of 1913, the most wonderful was the participation of ladies. With several Tamalian ladies, Mrs. Bhawani Dayal joined the struggle even before her husband could do so, which was described in the *Indian Opinion* of October 8, 1913, as follows:—

"Twelve ladies, with six babies in arms, went to Vilegoen's Drift with Mr. Kallenbach who accompanied them to smooth over troubles that might arise in the Free State. It was not the intention to court arrest at the Free State border at all. The ladies, on reaching Vilgoen's Drift, remained on the Veld until they could catch the returning train to Vereeniging. On returning to the latter place, the Immigration authorities would not arrest them. They, therefore, suggested to Mr. Kallenbach that they would rather hawk in Vereeniging and court arrest than go back to Johannesburg. The Indian merchants, who were looking after the ladies, at once fell in with the proposal and the decision was made. The merchants were to supply goods free of charge and the takings were to go to the Passive Resistance Fund. According to this plan these brave ladies, who had never done any hawking, commenced it in Vereeniging and attracted considerable attention. If they fail to get arrested by so doing, they will seek some other mode of getting arrested. They are all determined women who would brave any dangers."

Meanwhile, Swami Bhawani Dayal formed a party of passive resisters including some ladies in Germiston and went out courting arrest. They hawked about the streets, and, on failing to get arrested, they went on to the platform.

This is how the whole incident was described by the *Transvaal Leader* correspondent at Germiston:—

"Excitement reigned for a while at the Germiston railway station. From fifty to sixty Indians, male and female, took possession of the central section of the spacious new platform. About twenty of them carried hawkers' baskets, containing a few bunches of bananas, a pineapple or two, or a few handfuls of monkey nuts, which they offered for sale to the white people assembled. As hawking on railway premises is prohibited, the police intervened. It then transpired that the affair was a passive resistance demonstration. It was explained to them that no one, of any race or colour, could trade on railway premises unless expressly authorised by the railway authorities. The reasoning appeared to impress the party with the absurdity of the proceedings, but they said that they must have instructions from Mr. Gandhi. One of them, therefore, sought out a telephone, adjourning the demonstration for the nonce. After a little while, it was announced that Mr. Gandhi said they must persist, and compel the police to arrest them. The twenty odd candidates for martyrdom resumed their hawking, and eventually ten men and six women were arrested, as they desired, and charged with trading on railway premises. The business afforded onlookers much amuse-

ment, and, from the comic opera point of view, was a success, but from the political point of view it was a fiasco. It is not even certain that the case will be brought before the Magistrate."

The party was released after a detention for six hours in Germiston gaol. However, Swamiji and his companions were determined to force themselves on the Government in order to get arrested. Swamiji had joined that party which got into the train for the Natal border, there to challenge arrest. This party included the brave ladies who had been courting arrest at Vereeniging. They appeared perfectly happy and most determined. The party reached Volksrust and were taken off the train, although their destination was Charlestown. They were told that, although they were detained, they were not arrested. They insisted on the authorities finding food, quarters and lodging for them. The Indian merchants offered all these, but they said that the Government were bound, if they were detained, to provide them with these things. The next day, the party was told that they might go wherever they pleased. They thereupon proceeded to Charlestown by the train that was also carrying Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Kallenbach. The party got down at Charlestown and then proceeded to Newcastle to add a new chapter in the history of the Passive Resistance Movement.

A grand strike was organised at Newcastle by the late Mr. C. K. Thambi Naidu and Swami Bhawani Dayal with the assistance of the brave ladies. This strike is said to be unprecedented in the history of South Africa by the Indians as it was most successful and most widespread, the object of which was stated as follows:—

"The object of the strike is simply and solely to compel the Government, by peaceful methods, to fulfil the promise given to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to abolish the £ 3 tax on ex-indentured Indians, their wives and children. This is their part of the passive resistance campaign, and as soon as the Government agree to bring in legislation with the desired object the strikers will return to work—this being a strike against the Government and not against employers."

For going to the railway barracks to ask Indians to go on with the strike, Swami Bhawani Dayal was arrested, persecuted and fined £ 2 by the Magistrate of Newcastle. On his refusal to pay any fine, he was set free with a remark, "all right you can go; I shall execute."

Swami Bhawani Dayal vigorously continued his activities and visited many places of importance, to advise his fellow-countrymen to give up their work. He distinctly told them that the day, when the mines in northern Natal would stop to work; the ships in Durban would go without their cargo of coal; the labourers at north and

south coasts would refuse to work at the sugar-cane plantations; the cooks and waiters would decline to look after the comforts of the white *Sahebs*, that very day the obnoxious £ 3 tax would go and thousands would inhale the air of freedom.

The result was so amazing that a complete strike was declared and observed in and around Newcastle. Railway barracks were closed, coal mines ceased to function, hotels were deserted by the waiters, tradesmen set aside their tools, scavengers refused to carry out their duties and even hospitals were affected for want of hands.

CHAPTER VII

IMPRISONMENT

THE incessant efforts of Swamiji, at last, attracted the attention of the Government and a warrant was issued for him. He was arrested, tried and fined £ 5 in consequence thereof, or three months imprisonment with hard labour in default. He refused to pay the fine and preferred to go to jail. Although he was imprisoned in the eyes of the rulers, he himself was fully conscious of the fact that:—

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take,
That for hermitage.

Mrs. Bhawani Dayal immediately joined her husband in jail with her other lady colleagues,

which was thus described by the *Indian Opinion* of October 29, 1913:—

"The ladies from the Transvaal were arrested at Newcastle under the Vagrancy Act as "idle, disorderly or suspicious persons." They admitted having come to Newcastle peacefully to advise the mine labourers to suspend work until the Government gave an unequivocal undertaking to repeal the £ 3 tax. They refused to give any other account of themselves or to cross-examine. They were sentenced to the maximum penalty—to pay a fine of £ 5 or to be imprisoned with hard labour for three months. The ladies joyfully accepted imprisonment which they had been courting for many weeks. In sentencing, the Magistrate made insulting references to Mr. Polak, who was watching the proceedings, and the ladies present. Much indignation was felt amongst the local Indians at the Magistrate's bitter language to the ladies. They sent the message to South African Indians that they hope their example for their country's honour will inspire all to continue the struggle until victory is won."

Bhawani Dayalji and his wife, Jagrani Devi, served the term of their imprisonment in the gaols of Newcastle, Pieter Maritzburg and Durban, the details of which had been ably narrated at length by Swamiji in his well-known books in Hindi—*Hamari Karavas Kahani* (Story of

My Prison-life), and *Dakshin Afrika Ke Mere Anubhav* (My Experiences of South Africa). While in the jail, they underwent numerous hardships and sufferings, which resulted in the break-down of their health, and they had to be treated as patients in the gaol hospital for several days. They were dischared from the Durban Central Gaol on the 17th and 20th of January, 1914, respectively, as physical wrecks, after they had served the full term of their imprisonment. Bhawani Dayalji met with a somewhat interesting experience on the day of his wife's release—a few days after his own. Learning that Mrs. Bhawani Dayal was, with the other ladies, being detained at the prison under the Immigration Act, he proceeded to the Immigration Office, and was himself detained, until he was identified by Mr. Polak and the Chief Immigration Officer.

CHAPTER VIII

SETTLEMENT

THE incidents which occured during the strike, are too numerous to be mentioned here, and therefore, I will rest contented with quoting a passage or two from the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion*:—

"The campaign of the Indian women whose marriages had been dishonoured by a fresh deci-

sion of the Supreme Court, at the instigation of the Government, the awakening of the free and indentured labourers all over Natal, the tremendous strikes, the wonderful and historic strikers' march of protest into the Transvaal, the horrible scenes enacted later in the effort to crush the strikers and compel them to resume work, the arrest and imprisonment of the principal leaders and of hundreds—almost thousands—of the rank and file, the enormous Indian mass meetings held in Durban, Johannesburg, and other parts of the Union, the fierce and passionate indignation aroused in India, the large sums of money poured into South Africa from all parts of the Motherland, Lord Hardinge's famous speech at Madras, in which he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion and his demand for a Commission of Inquiry, the energetic efforts of Lord Ampthill's Committee, the hurried intervention of the Imperial authorities, the appointment over the heads of the Indian community of a Commission whose personnel could not satisfy the Indians, the discharge of the leaders whose advice to ignore the Commission was almost entirely accepted, the arrival of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson and their wonderful work of reconciliation, the deaths of Harbat Singh and Valiamma, the strained position relieved only by the interruption of the second European strike, when Mahatma Gandhi

once more undertook not to hamper the Government whilst they had their hands full with the fresh difficulty, and, when it had been dealt with, the entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust, and co-operation that was found to have been created by the moderation of the great Indian leader and the loving influence spread around him by Mr. Andrews as he proceeded with his great Imperial mission.

"All these things are of recent history, as are the favourable recommendation of the Commission on practically every point referred to it and out of which Passive Resistance had arisen, the adoption of the Commission's Report in its entirety by the Government, the introduction and passing into law of the Indians' Relief Act, after lengthy and remarkable debates in both Houses of the Legislature, the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and General Smuts, in which the latter undertook, on behalf of the Government, to carry through the administrative reforms that were not covered by the new Act, and the Indian protagonist of Passive Resistance formally announced the conclusion of the struggle and set forth the points upon which Indians would, sooner or later, have to be satisfied before they could acquire complete equality of civil status—and the final scenes of departure, enacted throughout the country, wherein the deaths and sufferings of the Indian martyrs, Nagappen,

Narayansamy, Harbat Singh, and Valiamma, were justified and sanctified to the world.

"The system of indentured immigration from India, that had been regarded almost as a permanent feature of South Africa economics, has been ended. The hated £3 tax has been repealed and its attendant misery and insult destroyed. Vested rights, that were tending everywhere to disappear, are to be maintained and protected. The bulk of Indian marriages, that had never previously received the sanction of South African law, are henceforth to be fully recognised in law. India has been raised in the scale of nations, her children in South Africa have been ennobled, and the way is now open to them to develop their capacities in peace and concord, and thus contribute their quota to the building up of this great new nation that is arising in the South African sub-continent."

CHAPTER IX

LITERARY ENTERPRISE

AFTER the termination of the Passive Resistance Movement, Swamiji had an opportunity to appear before the public in one more capacity as that of a literary man. Soon after his release from prison, he was appointed the Editor of the Hindi section of the *Indian Opinion*, a weekly journal of historic fame. During

this period, this journal had on its staff such eminent personalities as Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. H. S. L. Polak. It was a unique chance in his life to learn the art of journalism under such a distinguished board of editors, which he, however, gave up just before the departure of Mahatama Gandhi for India. He has since edited many journals an account of which shall be given in a separate chapter.

Thereafter he engaged himself in propagation of the Hindi language and succeeded in the formation of the *Hindi Pracharini Sabhas* and Hindi Schools at Germiston, Newcastle, Dannhauser, Hattingspruit, Glencoe, Burnside, Ladysmith, Weenan and Jacobs, and a *Hindi Ashram* consisting of a school and library at Clare Estate, in the vicinity of Durban. He also organised the first and second South African Hindi Literary Conferences in Ladysmith and Pieter Maritzburg respectively.

This period is also important in as much as he did a lot of writing work. He wrote his first book *Dakshin Afrika Ke Satyagrah Ka Itihas* (History of the Passive Resistance in South Africa) in 1914, which was published in 1916 in India. First copy of this book was presented to Mahatma Gandhi at the anniversary of Gurukul-Kangri. It was a well written illustrated account of the world-renowned *Satyagrah* of Indians in South Africa. The book was highly appreciated and

was a great success, both in its literary merit and subject matter. The second edition of this book was out in 1920. It may be noted here that this book was published before the Satyagrah was actually started in India, and was, perhaps, first authoritative account of *Satyagrah* in Hindi, which played such an important part in the emancipation of India, after it had been tried in South Africa. It is, therefore, difficult to measure the extensive effect this book must have produced in moulding public opinion and in preparing the people for non-violent war of independence to liberate India from the yoke of foreign domination.

Swamiji wrote many books during the period, a complete list of which is given in the Appendix I, and all of them were highly spoken by the critics and admirers alike. It was his most fruitful time from the literary point of view. Since then Swamiji has written numerous thought-provoking articles, but only one or two books owing to his pre-occupations, which is, however, very much regretted in literary circles which expected a continuous flow of books from his pen.

CHAPTER X

THE AMRITSAR CONGRESS

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal paid his second visit to India in 1919, when he got enrolled his son and nephew as students of the Gurukul, Brindaban. He represented the South African Indians at the annual session of the Indian National Congress, that was held in Amritsar under the presidentship of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru. Swamiji was a guest of that immortal martyr Swami Sharddhanandji, who was the chairman of the Reception Committee. This session was very important in the history of India's struggle for freedom owing to the notorious affair of the Jallianwalla Bagh, where many innocent Indians, young and old, were mercilessly and indiscriminately massacred by one General Dyer of British army.

Swami Bhawani Dayal was given an opportunity to address the session on behalf of Indians abroad. It was the first experience in his life to narrate the painful story concerning the Indians overseas before a representative and huge gathering of the Indian nation. Here he met for the first time, that great Indian patriot, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the father of Indian unrest as described by Sir Valentine Chirol in his famous book. Swamiji was also given an opportunity to deliver a speech in the

Vandematram Hall along with Tilak Maharaj.

Swamiji stayed in India for about a year and during this period he rendered useful service to the cause of his people domiciled in Colonies. He toured from place to place, organising public meetings and delivering speeches, with a view to rousing the public interest for the cause. He also wrote many articles in the press illustrating the life and condition of colonial Indians. In this brief period of his sojourn, he did a lot of propaganda for the success of his mission. The result was that the people began to realise and sympathise, and take a greater interest in the welfare of their countrymen abroad.

Besides his colonial mission, he actively helped the Indian people to better their conditions. He was instrumental in organising many useful institutions for the betterment of the Indian masses. He participated in so many conferences and public meetings that it is almost impossible to mention them here, but the most notable was his participation in the All-India Cow Conference, Anti-Caste Conference and the Hindi Literary Conference. He did not ignore even the Indian States. He took particular interest in the *Satyagrah* of Bijolia, a small estate in Mewar, Rajputana. He was also appointed a member of the Commission, which was asked to investigate into the conditions of *Satyagrahis* at Bijolia. He returned to South Africa in 1920

after so much of strenuous work in India.

CHAPTER XI

DEATH OF JAGRANI DEVI

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal sustained an irreparable loss in the untimely death of his wife, Shrimati Jagrani Devi, who passed away on the 8th of April, 1922. I will write a separate chapter about Mrs. Bhawani Dayal, but here I cannot help quoting an editorial note from the *Indian Opinion* of April 14, 1922:—

"It is with profound regret that we have to record the sad and untimely death of Jagrani Devi, the wife of Pandit Bhawani Dayal, which took place last Saturday morning at their residence at Jacobs after a short illness. The body was brought into town on Sunday morning and the funeral left from Kapitan's Tea Room in Grey Street at 9-30. The funeral was followed by a large number of Indians representing all sections of the community. The body of the late Mrs. Bhawani Dayal was cremated at the crematorium near Umgeni, the ceremony being performed according to Vedic rites. Mr. Ismail Gora (President of the Natal Indian Congress) in a short speech expressed regret on behalf of the Indian community at the loss sustained by Pandit Bhawani Dayal, and prayed for the eternal peace for the departed soul. Those who were

in, and who followed, the great Passive Resistance struggle in 1913 require but little introduction of Mrs. Bhawani Dayal. It was when, apart from other innumerable humiliations placed on His Majesty's British Indian subjects, the Union Government even refused to recognise the validity of Indian marriages performed under the tenets of an Indian religion, that the Indian women realised that that was not only an insult to their religion, but an insult to Indian womanhood and one among those who volunteered to undergo any suffering rather than accept such humiliating conditions, was the late Mrs. Bhawani Dayal, who, with a smiling face, went to gaol with her year and half old baby in her arms. Apart from this, the late Mrs. Bhawani Dayal, though she has not been known outwardly, has, during the short time that she lived, done a good bit of social service. She was a blessing to the poor and illiterate round about where she lived, in that, she gave them some of the knowledge she was blessed with, and guided them to the right path. She also taught their children in the vernacular language of which she possessed a good knowledge. She had indeed proved a true wife. She was of very great assistance to her husband, not only in their domestic affairs but even in public life. The latest step Pandit Bhawani Dayal has taken by the sole inspiration and on the only strength of his dutiful wife is

the establishment of a press with the intention of publishing a journal in the Hindi language called the *Hindi* for the social, religious and political advancement of the Hindi people in this country. But "Man proposes and God disposes" has proved too true in the case of Pandit Bhawani Dayal whose hopes have shattered to pieces. By the sudden and untimely death of his dear wife he has sustained a loss that can never be filled. But none can stay the hands of Providence. In extending our heartfelt sympathy to Pandit Bhawani Dayal we pray that this thought may be a consolation to him and that the Almighty may grant him patience and courage to endure the suffering that has befallen him, and grant him the strength to continue and see through the noble work he has set his heart to. With this issue we present our readers with a portrait of the late Mrs. Bhawani Dayal with the sincere hope that it may serve as an inspiration to our brothers and sisters in fighting the battle for freedom."

CHAPTER XII

GAYA CONGRESS

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal visited India again in 1922 and participated in the annual session of the Indian National Congress, held at Gaya, as a representative of the Natal

Indian Congress. Here he succeeded in getting the Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal British Indian Association and the Cape British Indian Council affiliated to the Indian National Congress and these political organisations of South Africa were empowered to send ten delegates to the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress.

A brief account of the work and activities of Swamiji, while he was in India, was given by Shri Satya Narain Lal, B.A., in the course of his article, that appeared in the *National Number* of the *Hindi* of July 27, wherein he writes:—

"After landing in Bombay in December last, Pandit Bhawani Dayal first paid a visit to his own village and having stayed there for a few days, he went to Gaya to attend the session of the Indian National Congress. He had discussions with the eminent leaders of India and succeeded in preparing a resolution to the effect that the representation of South African Indians be accepted in future and that the Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal British Indian Association and the Cape British Indian Council be empowered to send annually ten delegates to the Indian National Congress. After attending the Gaya Congress, Panditji began his tour in the District of Shahabad, which is the birth-place and battle-field of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh, the heroes of the War of

Independence of 1857. It was due to his tour and impressive speeches that a great awakening took place once more in that part of Bihar. Most of the disappointed workers were once more encouraged and came forward in the field of activities with new hope and vigour. Great enthusiasm was exhibited in Sasaram Sub-Division. The citizens of Sasaram and Dehri-on-Sone presented addresses to him in which they expressed their feelings of gratitude. He addressed huge meetings attended by thousands, and at every place procession with national flags was carried out with due reverence. The police officers were very keen in watching the proceedings and hastily taking the notes of his forceful speeches. It can never be denied that the people had great regard for Panditji and were always ready to respect him as the hero of Arrah. In short, it can be said with certainty that his Shahabad tour was a great success.

"Thus after discharging his duty, that he owed to his own Province, he went to Gurukul Brindaban to gratify his long-felt desire of visiting that famous University. He delivered a series of lectures with a view of placing noble ideals before the students and professors of that University. Thereafter he went to Cawnpore to attend the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan (Literary Conference), where he delivered a remarkable speech regarding the literary

conditions of Indians abroad. A resolution was passed in which the Sammelan recognised the importance of the *Hindi* and the innumerable services that *Hindi* had been able, during its early career, to render to the Indians overseas. Pandit Bhawani Dayal was congratulated for his noble work of propagating Hindi in the Colonies. Apart from these, he contributed several articles to the Indian press by which, we hope, he would be able to throw sufficient light on the problems of Indians abroad. But all along he was busy writing articles for his own journal. Thus after spending full six months in India, Panditji will leave for South Africa on the July 11 by the *S.S. Karagola* and not without giving intense pain and grief to the Indians, who were very pleased to hear his arrival in December last."

CHAPTER XIII

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal has all along been an ardent and trusted worker of the Natal Indian Congress. This Congress was founded on May 22, 1894 by Mahatma Gandhi, the maker of modern India, and it is only ten years younger than the great organisation in India, the Indian National Congress.

The Natal Indian Congress had been doing much useful work by guarding and protecting

the rights and interests of Indians almost from its very inception, but unfortunately on account of high-handedness and short-sighted policy of certain officials, it became defunct in 1915 soon after the departure of Mahatmaji. Natal Indians remained without a political organisation for a number of years.

Vigorous attempts were, however, made to revive it in 1921 and in this Swamiji played an important part. Eventually the Natal Indian Congress was revived and reorganised on March 6, 1921, and Swamiji was appointed a Vice-President, an office which he continuously occupied till May 1, 1938, when he was elected President. His election as the President of the Natal Indian Congress was greeted not only in South Africa but also in India. The Natal Indians deserve to be congratulated for two particular reasons; firstly, because they have elected the first Hindu to occupy this office since its formation in 1894, and secondly, because of the position Swamiji occupies in India and abroad. The Congress was in need of having such a president who might enjoy the confidence of every section of the Indian community.

CHAPTER XIV

BRITISH GUIANA SCHEME

WHILE referring to the fundamentally naked and highly selfish policy of the Union of South Africa towards its Indian population, the first point to be noted is that when the European sugar-cane planters saw that they and their plantations would be ruined for want of cheap, docile. reliable labour, they requested the Indian Government on their bended knees to allow Indian labourers to migrate to Natal. After great difficulty, the Indian Government sanctioned the migration. The result of this was that the Indian labourers began to be sent to Natal from 1860. For about fifty years thereafter all went well. The plantations, which were on the point of being totally ruined, were properly looked after by Indian labourers and the Natal planters made their piles and everything looked rosy.

On having made their position sound, however, the whitemen saw that Indian labour was no longer wanted. And so they began to cast about for means to drive them away. Then the campaign against the Coolies commenced. Several heartless remedies were tried and the hounding out of the Indians from South Africa became, day by day, more and more hideous and shocking.

In 1921, the Union Government was anxious to inaugurate a fancy scheme to repatriate the Natal Indians to British Guiana. A memorable mass meeting was held in Durban under the presidentship of Swami Bhawani Dayal to protest against the policy. The importance and significance of this meeting can be imagined from the following remarks of the *Indian Opinion* of December 2, 1921:—

"The mass meeting held at Rawat's Bio Hall in connection with the invitation of the Union Government to send an Indian delegation to British Guiana was a success beyond expectations. Anyone who has had the opportunity of being present at the meeting could not possibly wish for a further and a better demonstration of how strongly, not only the idea of sending a delegation to British Guiana but the Union Government's Repatriation Scheme as a whole, is disapproved of by the Indian community. The speeches that were made were very spirited, and the resolution was, as it should be, and it was gratifying to note that it was carried unanimously. The incident that was most worthy of note was that an element that was working, in this connection, against the community till the end and was thereby causing great deal of hindrance to our cause, after making a frank confession of its folly also joined with the meeting in passing the resolution disapproving of the Government's

proposal. Thus there was absolute unanimity prevalent in the meeting, which was a most satisfactory result. The Protector of Indian Immigrants who was present at the meeting as a representative of the Government had, by his presence, rendered a great service to the community for which the community's thanks are due to him. We have but little doubt that he will have reported the true feelings of the community on the matter in question, as beheld by him at the meeting."

The *New India* of Madras, an organ of the late Mrs. Annie Besant, wrote in the following manner:—

"The Government of the Union of South Africa are well-nigh tired of the Indian community among the European settlers and are vigilantly looking around for ways to get rid of them. Could they be dispatched back to India, or British Guiana or to any of the Poles, is their perpetual question. Voluntary repatriation is nothing but a scheme to give effect to this desire. The Government therefore asked the Indian community to consider the advisability of sending an Indian delegation to British Guiana to investigate and report to them as to whether it could absorb some of the Indian population of the Union. The community have considered the question at a Durban meeting and have arrived at the only possible conclusion. They strongly

disapproved, not only of the idea of a deputation to Guiana, but of the very scheme of repatriation as well and unanimously passed a resolution to this effect. It was significant that a section of the community which till recently was working against general opinion confessed its folly at the meeting and presented a united front to the Government. The President of the meeting, Pandit Bhawani Dayal, did well to warn the audience of the painful experiences of the already repatriated Indians."

CHAPTER XV

THE PRINCE AND CONGRESS

ONCE there was an acute difference of opinion between Swami Bhawani Dayal and his colleagues, with the result he had to leave the Congress for the time-being. It happened when the Prince of Wales, now Duke of Windsor, visited Durban in the course of his South African tour in 1925. The Durban Corporation decided to accord him a fitting welcome and it was also resolved to invite some prominent Indians to the Civic Reception, though they were debarred from Civic Dinner, apparently owing to the racial discrimination policy. Some of the Congress leaders were determined to non-co-operate with the celebrations arranged by the Durban Corporation. Swamiji

differed with them, and he maintained that the Natal Indian Congress would not non-co-operate with the municipal functions in compliance with the wishes of the people, whom it had the honour to represent.

A mass meeting was convened to consider the question in which Swamiji's point of view was several times endorsed, but the opposition went on moving amendment after amendment. Swamiji was so disgusted with the affair that he left the meeting, and in his absence, a resolution was carried declaring non-co-operation with the municipal functions.

Finally, the Congress refused the invitation of the Durban Corporation but it meant no disregard for the person of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, yet the European press published and featured a distorted version of the Congress' decision, thus creating bitter feelings in the minds of the white settlers. Swamiji tendered his resignation from the vice-presidentship of the Congress.

Though Swamiji was in favour of participation in the civic reception, yet he did not think it advisable to take part in this in view of the Congress' decision. He differed from the majority of the Congress leaders, and it was the main reason of his resignation from the Congess, yet he remained loyal to the Congress as ever. Swamiji did not join even the Natal Indian

Association, which was a rival organisation, formed by some people opposed to the Congress, despite their best efforts. Here is the considered view of Swamiji that appeared in the *Hindi* of May 22, 1925:—

"The Congress might have blundered but it is the body which to-day represents the entire Indian community of Natal. We have resigned but that is no reason for us to suggest that the Congress is not the mouth-piece of the Indians. There might be internal troubles but that is no reason either for the teachers or the Mayor to take advantage of, at this critical moment. We feel confident that if the community with one voice insists on its legitimate rights, there is no reason why the Mayor should not yield, even if it is the dinner-table equality."

Swamiji came back to the Congress fold, when his co-workers approached him later. He forgot all that had happened and demonstrated his unflinching faith in the Congress.

CHAPTER XVI

CLASS AREAS BILL

IT is difficult to give a full account of South African whitemen's greed, their selfishness, their ingratitude and positive hostility towards the Indian Community. Race-hatred, inequity and injustice have throughout charac-

terised their relationship with the Indians, after their prosperity had been established as a result of most exacting and sweating labour of the Indians.

It had been the aim of the South African statesmen practically of all shades of opinion to see that the whole lot of Indians in the Union are turned out lock, stock and barrel. And to achieve this object, a 'Class Areas Bill' was introduced in the Union Parliament in 1924, for segregating the Indians from European population.

This inhuman Bill might be justified on purely racial grounds. It sought to segregate persons with common racial characteristics; it was purely and simply a class Bill; though worded in general terms, it was undoubtedly, calculated to segregate Indians. In practice, it was to differentiate between one class or race of persons from another. The Indians in the proclaimed area were not to have the rights of a man in the unproclaimed area. In short, the Indians were to be treated like dumb-driven cattle, and to be huddled in a compound to suffocate and die by the slow process of so-called British justice.

Swami Bhawani Dayal had played an important part in opposing the Bill. He addressed mass meetings practically in every town of Natal, explaining the real danger ahead. In his opinion the policy of racial segregation was retrograde and detrimental to the progress of

human beings. It restricted the liberty and freedom of a class of persons, and made no allowance whatsoever for their development to the highest degree. It created conditions that encouraged herding of human beings, with the undesirable consequence of greater impoverishment, insanitation, ill-health and over-population.

About the same time, Shrimati Sarojini Devi visited South Africa as a representative of Indian National Congress. She was the guest of the Natal Indian Congress during her stay in Natal. Swamiji whole-heartedly co-operated with the Congress to make her trip a grand success. Immediately after the arrival of Shrimati Sarojini Devi, the Smuts Government sustained a defeat in a bye-election and the Union Parliament was dissolved, which brought an end to this Bill, at least for the time being.

CHAPTER XVII

DEPUTATION TO INDIA

GENERAL Smuts sustained a crushing defeat in the Parliamentary elections, which broughtla downfall of his South African Party. The Nationalist Party came into power and General Hertzog formed the new cabinet. But the conditions of Indians did not alter in any way by the change in the personnel of the

Government. Dr. Malan, Minister of Interior of the new Government, introduced a measure in the Union Parliament to make provision for the reservation of residential and trading areas for certain persons having racial characteristics in common, this was subsequently called Areas Reservation Bill. The object of this Bill was almost the same as that of the Class Areas Bill, *i. e.* to segregate the Indians. It was a measure to wipe out the Indians from South Africa.

It were the Indians who had built up the colony of Natal. They worked in the colony and developed it by clearing the jungles, opening the mines, working on railroads, improving the land and in a host of other ways, making the country 'habitable, beautiful and rich'. For sixty-five years they worked, and how were they rewarded? In 1925, on having finished their work, they were regarded as undesirables, unfit for human rights and privileges. They were regarded as a 'menace' to white civilisation, and this obnoxious Bill was brought forward.

The Natal Indian Congress registered a strong protest against the Bill and made every effort to mobilize the Indian public opinion. Swamiji worked very hard to further the cause. He toured from place to place, addressing mass meetings and explaining the pros and cons of the Bill to the Indian people of Natal.

A conference of the South African Indian

Congress was held in Cape Town and it was resolved to send a deputation to India to seek the intervention of the Government of India and the Indian nation in the unjust and cruel persecution, to which the Indians were subjected to in South Africa, and the deputation was to consist of seven prominent leaders, one of them was Swami Bhawani Dayal, others were Dr. Abdurahman, Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, Advocate J. W. Godfrey, Mr. Amod Bayat, Mr. V. S. C. Pather and Mr. A. A. Mirza.

Swamiji accompanied the deputation after having suspended the publication of his weekly journal the *Hindi* at the risk of great financial loss. The deputation reached India in December, 1925, after doing some propaganda in the coastal parts of East Africa. Shrimati Sarojini Naidu gave a warm reception to the members of the deputation on their arrival in Bombay at the Taj Mahal Hotel, which was attended by a distinguished gathering, including the Indian members of the Executive Council, Ministers, Judges, Legislators and well-known merchants. In this gathering Mrs. Naidu paid a glowing tribute to Swami Bhawani Dayal by referring to him as lean and thin man of short stature but with wonderful influence in the Indians of South Africa, which surprised her during her brief sojourn in Natal. Thereupon Swamiji was forced to stand up in order to exhibit himself to

satisfy the curiosity of the gathering.

The deputation left Bombay for Calcutta to interview the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and to acquaint him with the real conditions of the South African Indians. Mahatma Gandhi met the deputation in the train at the Wardha Station and gave his blessing to it. The deputationists were received at the Calcutta Station by the wife of the Mayor, Mrs. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. T. C Goswami, M. L. A., Dr. S. K. Dutta, Rev. Dr. Fisher, Mr. K. C. Neogy, M. L. A., and a large number of people.

While Mr. Goswami and other gentlemen were waiting on platform no. 7 for the arrival of the Bombay Mail by which the members of the deputation were travelling, the next platform (No. 6) was cleared off the people for the arrival of His Excellency the Viceroy's train from Jamshedpur. After platform No. 6 had been cleared, an attempt was made to clear platform No. 7. An European Sergeant went on merrily with his work, till he came to the spot where Shriyut Goswami and others were waiting. The Sergeant wanted them to leave the platform, but the latter refused to do so. When the Sergeant found that Sjt. Goswami and his friends could not be persuaded to leave the platform, he went away and called in the Deputy Superintendent of the Railway Police. This gentleman also did not fare better. Strong words passed between

him and Sjt. Goswami. The latter told the Deputy Superintendent that he had every right to be on the platform and that he was not going to leave it, because His Excellency the Viceroy's train was arriving at the next platform. The Viceroy, Sjt. Goswami went on to say, had no business to make himself a public nuisance. Unable to move Sjt. Goswami and his friends out of the platform, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, put a cordon of policemen round them and thus carried out the instructions of his superiors.

The deputationists were entertained to tea by Mr. Suhrawardy, the then Deputy Mayor of Calcutta, in the Corporation Buildings, where they got an opportunity to enlighten a distinguished gathering of Calcutta citizens, about the ugly features of the Asiatic Bill. Finally, the deputationists interviewed Lord Reading, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and submitted their memorandum, to which he replied sympathetically. Sir Mohamed Habibullah was very keen to understand the real situation in the Union.

Therefrom the deputationists proceeded to Cawnpore to attend the session of the Indian National Congress. The deputation was welcomed at the Cawnpore Railway Station by such eminent leaders as the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and his distinguished son, Pandit Jawahar-

lal Nehru, who, in course of time, attained greater eminence. The deputationists were treated as the Congress guests and were lodged in the Civil and Military Hotel, just close to the Station rather than the Congress Camp. It was thought advisable perhaps because of the way and mode of living of the Indians abroad.

On the first day of the session the following resolution was moved by Mahatma Gandhi himself, which was seconded by the late Maulana Mohamad Ali in a powerful speech and was carried unanimously:—

"The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the South African Indian Congress deputation and assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of its full support in their unequal struggle against the consolidated forces, which threaten their very existence in that sub-continent. The Congress is emphatically of opinion that the proposed legislation known as the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill is in breach of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 in that it is racial in character and is calculated not only to make the position of the settlers much worse than it was in 1914, but is designed to make the residence in that country of any self-respecting Indian impossible. In the opinion of the Congress, if the interpretation of the said agreement as put upon it on behalf of the settlers is not accepted by the

Union Government, it should be decided by reference to arbitration as was done in 1893 in connection with the treatment of Indian settlers of the Transvaal in matters arising from the administration of Law 3 of 1885. The Congress heartily endorses the suggestion that a round table conference containing among others proper Indian representatives should be called to settle the question and trusts that the Union Government will accept that reasonable suggestion. In the event of the proposal for a round table conference and the proposal regarding arbitration failing the Congress is of opinion that it is the clear duty of the Imperial Government to withhold the royal assent to the Bill should it pass through the Union Parliament."

Shrimati Sarojini Devi also made a pathetic remark in her presidential address which I can not help quoting here:—

"Let it not be said of us, however, that our selfish absorption in our own domestic affairs has made us oblivious to the distress and difficulty of our kinsmen in foreign lands. Our adventurous compatriots, who have crossed the seas to seek their livelihood in the dominions and colonies have from time to time been subjected to restrictive and repressive legislation. The White Paper still stands as a reproach against our failure to redress the wrongs of the Indian community

in Kenya. But in the whole chronicle of civilized legislation, there has never been so cruel and relentless an outrage against humanity, as is deliberately embodied in the anti-Asiatic Bill, which is calculated to exterminate the Indian community from South Africa. Shall we not send across the seas a loving and ready response to their heart-rending cry for succour, and, through their ambassadors whom we welcome to-day, offer to our harassed and afflicted brothers in South Africa the assurance that India stands behind their courageous struggle to vindicate their inherent civic and human rights against the onslaught of such terrific injustice and oppression? Never before has our duty to our kindred in foreign countries been so vividly brought home to our minds, nor the necessity of establishing a close and living contact with all their changing fortunes. We should not lose a single moment in forming an Overseas Department in the Congress manned by those who can keep themselves vigilantly aware of all the legislations and enactments that adversely or otherwise affect Indian settlers abroad."

India was stirred to the fullest extent, the plight of the South African Indians was known from one end of the land to the other, and the Government of India was forced to take a firm stand in order to protect them from this unjust measure. The following lines from Mr.

Bramdaw's book, *Out of the Stable* throws light on the subsequent events:—

"The Bill had reached the Committee stage when a deputation sent by the Government of India to make a first hand study of the problem reached the Union. After its investigations the deputation, consisting of the late Sir G. F. Paddison, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Sir Syed Raza Ali and Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai appeared before the Select Committee. It made a convincing case for holding up the proposed measure until it was considered by a conference between the representatives of the Governments of India and South Africa. In the interim a Parliamentary Deputation from South Africa made a return visit. Those who went from the Union were the Hon. F. W. Beyers, the Hon. Patrick Duncan, Mr. A. C. Fordam, Mr. J. S. Marwick, Mr. G. Reyburn, Mr. O. S. Vermoolen, Mr. W. H. Rood and Mr. J. R. Hartshone.

"As a result of these visits, the Union Government agreed not to proceed with the Bill, pending a conference with the representatives of the Government of India, and on December 17, 1926 at Cape Town, representatives of the two countries met to consider the whole Indian question. From India came Sir Muhammad Habbibullah, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Sir d'Arcy Lindsay, Sir G. F. Paddison, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, the Rt. Hon. G. L. Cobbett

and Sir G. S. Bajpai. It was a wonderful galaxy of Indian intellectuals and distinguished Indians, who hitherto had refused to put their foot on South African soil because of this country's attitude towards men of colour, gathered to help South Africa find a satisfactory solution to its Indian problem. They believed that they had found it when the conference rose on January 11, 1927.

"A few months later, the basis of the agreement reached was announced. Briefly, the important terms were the maintenance of western standards of life; Indians were to be 'uplifted', better educational facilities were to be provided, so that they might not lag behind any section of the community; a voluntary repatriation scheme to India or any other country, where western standards were not required; the appointment of an Agent of the Government of India in the Union, to secure effective co-operation between the two Governments. In order to give the agreement a fair trail, the Union Government desired not to proceed further with the Asiatic Bill.

"The reaching of an agreement was a wonderful achievement for both sides. But what was still greater was to secure the following admission: 'The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle, that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise

ways and means and to take all possible steps, for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population, to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that, in the provision of educational and other facilities, the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people.

"This declaration for the Indians of South Africa marked the birth of a new era. First, it was the recognition of Indians as being part of the permanent population, reversing the statement made by Dr. D. F. Malan, the Minister of Interior, that the Indian was 'a foreign element in the population'; secondly, it contained a promise that the Indian population would be uplifted, so that it might not be allowed to lag behind any other section of the population. This was the first time since the consummation of the Union of South Africa that the South African Indian knew precisely his position, and from the veritable darkness of the period he was able to see a gleam of light.

"A few months later, Mr. Sastri arrived to assume the office of the Agent-General. He was able, in a very short time, to create a new means of approach to the Indian question. His wonderful oratory, his striking personality, his moderation, his understanding, his sympathy, his statemanship, his revelation of Indian civili-

sation and culture, these and other of his manifold qualities combined to place the Indian problem in a totally different light to the European, and to his own people his presence was an inspiration to greater endeavours."

CHAPTER XVIII

IN THE ORDER OF SANNYASIS

IT was during his stay in South Africa that Swami Bhawani Dayal cherished the idea of founding at his own village in India, a *Pravasi-Bhawan* consisting of a library and a school—the library to have a general collection of books on various subjects, and specially on those that deal with life of Indians abroad; while the school to impart free primary education to poor children from neighbouring villages.

After the Cawnpore Congress, Swamiji fell ill and returned to his native village Bahuara, in the Province of Bihar. He applied himself whole-heartedly to the work of building the *Pravasi-Bhawan.* Work went on regularly and by the end of June, 1926 the building was ready, except for plastering and some other minor work, which owing to the advent of the rainy season, had to be put off for six months.

But Swamiji decided that the *Bhawan* be formally opened, so that the work of the school and the library may commence. Accordingly

the opening ceremony was duly performed by the great Indian patriot, Babu Rajendra Prasad, the all-honoured and selfless leader of Bihar. The speech, which Rajendra Babu delivered in Hindi for an hour and a half on the occasion, was most touching, most impressive and most learned. He specially congratulated Swami Bhawani Dayal for his manifold activities for the emancipation of the Mother India.

The work of construction was again taken up in the beginning of January and was finally completed on April 7, 1927. The construction and equipment of the *Pravasi-Bhawan* had cost him about ten thousand rupees.

The first anniversary of the *Bhawan* was enthusiastically celebrated on *Chaitra Ram Navami*, that is, on April 10, 1927. The *Vedic Havan* was performed in the early morning by Pandit Vedavrat Vanprasthi, Swami Shivanand, Swami Munishanand and Pandit Parmanand, M. A., Inspector of schools, and Bhawani Dayalji was also formally admitted into the order of Sannyasis. On this occasion, almost all the speakers requested Swamiji to give up his idea of going back to South Africa and to spend the rest of his life in the service of the Motherland. Swamiji, however, replied that since he had not taken leave for ever of his countrymen in South Africa, it was necessary for him to go back to them, at this time.

The purpose of joining this order is to devote the rest of one's life to the service of mankind. The responsibilities of this order are really great. By joining this rank, Swamiji became a citizen of the world with his outlook much wider and broader.

CHAPTER XIX

BACK TO NATAL

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal returned to Natal, as a first South African-born Sannyasi, in 1927. The time was most suitable for social work owing to the calm atmosphere. Swamiji devoted more than two years in this particular field. Apart from the social reform, which was his chief sphere of work at the time, he continued to co-operate with other beneficial activities as well.

The South African Indian Congress appointed him, as its representative, to help and guide the Indian residents in the northern districts of Natal, where the new "Asiatics in the Northern Districts of Natal Act, 1927" was to be enforced in 1928. Swamiji made an extensive tour of the various coal mines, which were situated in the Districts of Vryheid and Utrecht, along with Mr. W. T. Dobson, the representative of the Union Government and rendered a signal service to the Indians in protecting their legitimate right.

It was for the first time in the history of that district that the Indians were allowed to accord a welcome to Swami Bhawani Dayal in the Court House of Vryheid

Swamiji also acted as a representative of the Natal Indian Congress in investigating and distributing the relief money to the dependents of Indian victims in the Dannhauser Colliery disaster.

In 1928, an Indian Education Commission was appointed in Natal by the effort of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, the then Agent-General for India. The Indian Government deputed Mr. Kailas Prasad Kitchlu, an educational expert from India, to study, prepare and present the case of the Indians before this Commission. Swami Bhawani Dayal toured the north coast of Natal with Mr. Kitchlu and Miss G. Gordon, an assistant of the expert, and helped them in collecting the information concerning Indian education. Swamiji was also elected one of the representatives to give evidence before the Commission on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress.

A charge of misuse of the funds granted as subsidy for Indian education for other uses, was levelled against the Provincial authorities. In view of the conclusive evidence that all the money was not spent on Indian education, the authorities were not in a position to deny it, but

justified the expenditure on the ground that, while subsidy was calculated per head on the children at school, there was no legal right which restrained the authorities from expending the money in the manner they thought best. The fact was established before the Commission, that the Indian community was paying liberally for its own education, both English and Vernacular, without receiving the assistance, to the extent that it deserved, from the Provincial Council. The oft-repeated statement made by the members of this Council, that the Indian was not paying for his education, was found, in the light of the evidence submitted at this inquiry, to be untenable; the accuser now became the accused.

One of the conclusions of the Commission was that in future all money earned as subsidy on Indian education should be allocated to that service. The result of recommendations was that Indian education expanded rapidly; from £27,000 spent on Indian education in 1928, the figure has now risen to £85,000 and the number of children at school for the same period has increased from 10,000 to 20,000. But no money except a grant of £10,000 which was made recently has come from the Provincial funds during the period. While there is free and compulsory primary education for European and coloured children, and a liberal number of

bursaries available at the secondary stage, Indians alone have to pay for this.

In 1929, when the time came for Sastriji to leave South Africa, the foundation of Indian education had been well and truly laid. Sastriji collected a sum of £18,000 for the college at Durban which bears his name—a lasting piece of work.

When money was being collected for the Sastri College, Swamiji also helped the collection, along with other Congress leaders. He worked very hard in the formation of the Natal Indian Workers' Congress which was inaugurated by Sastriji.

CHAPTER XX

CONGRESS TRIBUTE

"HIS name was closely associated with the public life of South Africa," stated Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee. president of the Natal Indian Congress, when referring to the departure of Swami Bhawani Dayal, who sailed for India on October 7, 1929, at a crowded meeting at Durban.

"Swami Bhawani Dayal's service in the cause of the Indian community," he proceeded, "dates back to that epic struggle—I refer to the Passive Resistance movement that resulted in the 1914 Settlement. His participation in that

struggle was very early in his life, for the Sannyasi is a comparatively young man. Not content with his contribution to the struggle, his late wife took, by no means an insignificant part, in the campaign. They both have suffered terms of imprisonment."

Mr. Sorabjee then referred to the Swami's association with journalism, and paid a tribute to his profound knowledge of the Hindi language.

"Since the resuscitation of the Natal Indian Congress," continued the speaker, "the Swami, has closely identified himself with its work. As a vice-president of the Congress for many years he has rendered yeoman service. Suffering from ill-health, as he was, Swami Bhawani Dayal did not shirk his responsibilities, when he was asked by the South African Congress to proceed to India as a member of its deputation. Swamiji was not able to return to South Africa with the deputation, but that was fortunate for us. for during his stay in India, he continued the agitation and gave India a true account of the conditions of the Indians in South Africa.

"The South African Indian community, and particularly that of Natal, will feel Swamiji's departure very keenly. Associated as I have been with him for a considerable number of years, I have never found him to turn back. When duty calls Swami Bhawani Dayal, he has invariably been the first to offer his services.

His speeches in Hindi at every Congress meeting, his labours on behalf of the poor, his services in the Dannhauser disaster, his invaluable assistance to the Indians in the northern districts of Natal will ever be remembered.

"He leaves us, not to retire from public work, but to extend his activities. He leaves for a wider field. India is passing through a critical period in her history, and she badly needs many public men of the calibre of Swami Bhawani Dayal."

CHAPTER XXI

HARDSHIP OF DECK PASSENGERS

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal left for India by *S. S. Karagola*, a steamer of the British India Steam Navigation Company. About twenty cows and bullocks were loaded on board the ship. Then the number of passengers on board the ship was not so great. But on reaching Lourenco Marques, their number increased and for want of accommodation many of them were obliged to accommodate themselves and sleep in the dangerous proximity of and next to the cattle. Yet no body complained of this. On coming to Beira, the number of deck passengers still more increased. The passengers taken aboard the ship at Dares-Salaam were obliged to resort to the citadel deck where the sun was excessively

hot and unbearable. But no arrangement to screen off the sun was made and this greatly added to the inconvenience and suffering of the deck passengers. At Zanzibar the steamer lay at anchor for nearly twenty hours. Here the condition of the passengers was rendered still worse and unbearable, by the excessive heat, as they were packed and huddled in a place where the cattle were kept. The stinking smell there was simply disgusting. At Mombasa, the cattle were disembarked, but there was such a rush of passengers at this place, that there was absolutely no room whatever even for the slightest movement. Despite this rush the two decks which were meant for the passengers were packed with cargo. This enhanced the difficulty to a greater extent. The whole steamer was so packed that the passengers were greatly inconvenienced and hindered even in going to the lavatory.

The accommodation was deplorably insufficient and scanty. When the suffering became unbearable, passengers drew out a statement signed by nearly three hundred of them and handed it over to Swami Bhawani Dayal for necessary action to be taken. Swamiji, through the radio, informed the Government of India and public organisations in Bombay. An inquiry was held soon after the arrival of *Karagola* in Bombay and Swamiji gave a statement to the Assistant Port Officer who had gone to investigate on

behalf of his Department. He attempted to cross-examine the Swami. His first question was, "how many natives embarked at Durban?" "Natives?" asked Swami Bhawani Dayal. "I mean Indians" was the prompt correction by the Port Officer. Then, he wanted to know if the deck passengers really objected to be accommodated by the side of cattle!

O India! think of this humiliation. Your sons are no better than cattle in the eyes of some white sahebs. It also reminds me of an incident that happened in Natal in 1908. According to the *Times of Natal*, a white man was charged for cutting the ear of an indentured Indian with a sharp knife and when he was asked by the Court to explain his attitude, he unhesitatingly declared that "the Government allows the cutting of the sheep's ear and the Indian complainant is no better than a sheep."

CHAPTER XXII

THE SUTLEJ SCANDAL.

OVER-CROWDING has been a regular feature of the steamers that carry Indians to and from the colonies. It is by no means of recent origin. As early as 1839, Lord Brougham referring to the mortalities among Indian labourers on the boats bound for British Guiana, said "mortality and massacre of the voyage far

exceeded the African middle passage itself." Mahatma Gandhi has written quite strongly, more than once, on this subject but in spite of all the agitation, things remain almost as bad as before. The death of as many as forty four Indians on board the *Sutlej* indicated once again that there is something very wrong with the companies that are responsible for this state of affairs and the Government of India too cannot escape its responsibility.

In the month of September, 1928, *Reuter* reported the death of 37 repatriated Indians on board the *Sutlej* returning to India from British Guiana. This tragedy had been repeated on a bigger scale for as many as 44 deaths occurred on board the same steamer again in 1930. Swami Bhawani Dayal, along with Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, went to interview the passengers on the ship and they were really shocked to hear the statement of the passengers who narrated their troubles to them most pathetically, and they could easily imagine the great sufferings of the poor passengers. They decided to issue their statement to the Press, but before that, they thought it advisable to inform the Government of India about it and to interview the Protector of Emigrants also. Accordingly, they interviewed him on board the steamer, the next day, but they were surprised about the objectionable attitude adopted by the Protector.

Thereupon, they sent a telegram to the Government of India asking for immediate inquiry for which they received a reply in the affirmative.

Taking into consideration the fact that it was a very serious question and that it was the second tragedy of its kind on the same steamer, the Government of India should have started the inquiry immediately. But it took them full eight days to come to this conclusion! Swami Bhawani Dayal was notified by the Lt. Col. A. Denham White, I. M. S., the Protector of Emigrants, that "as desired by the Government of India, the Government of Bengal have deputed the Magistrate of the 24-Praganas, to hold an enquiry conjointly with you and me regarding the deaths of 44 Indian repatriates returning to India from the West Indies by the *S. S. Sutlej*."

By the time most of the returned emigrants who were detained to appear before the Enquiry Commission departed for their homes. It is also to be noted that the Government of India did not consider it essential even to delay the departure of the *Sutlej* that was going to Fiji Islands again with 900 passengers! Under the circumstances Swami Bhawani Dayal refused to be a member of this Commission as he thought that no useful purpose could be served by making this inquiry in this haphazard way.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE NON-VIOLENT WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

THE question whether Hindustan, bounded by the Himalayas on the North, and the Ocean on the South, should be completely independent or not, was being solved by the Indian National Congress at its Lahore session in 1930, when Mahatma Gandhi declared the non-violent war of independence against British Imperialism. How could Swami Bhawani Dayal turn his back at the urgent call of the Mother-land? He immediately joined the struggle and received a telegraphic blessing from the Mahatma himself on very day of his historic march to Dandi with his trusted and non-violent band of volunteers.

It would be better to quote the following authoritative statement issued by Babu Vindh-yachal Prasad, Assistant Secretary of the Shahabad District Congress Committee, for the information of Indians abroad, which throws some light on the part played by Swami Bhawani Dayal in this struggle for India's freedom:—

"We had elected Swami Bhawani Dayal as the President of the Shahabad District Congress Committee. Our district has a population of two millions. According to the resolution of the Lahore Congress, Swamiji made a tour of the

district in order to prepare the people for the fight of freedom by means of *Satyagrah.* He visited three Sub-Divisions of the district and delivered 28 speeches. His speeches were so impressive and effective that almost one thousand volunteers recruited themselves for the struggle of independence. Only one Sub-Division was left untouched when Swamiji, who was returning to Arrah to preside at the Aryan Youth Conference, was arrested on March 29, 1930 at the Arrah Railway Station. His arrest created a sensation throughout the District. The town of Arrah observed complete *Hartal,* and one can form an idea of the high esteem in which Swamiji was held by the fact that within two hours after his arrest, a concourse of ten to twelve thousand people collected at the Jail gate to show their respect to him, and processions were taken out in the town for days together in his honour.

"Swamiji was charged under section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, for delivering seditious speeches at Buxar, Dumraon and Jagdishpur. The trial lasted for several days and it forms an important event of our district. Five to ten thousand spectators collected in the Court, when the case was being heard and then the Government had to take the help, not only of the police, but also of the military to keep the peace. On the fourteenth day of the arrest,

Swamiji was sentenced to imprisonment for two years and a fine of three hundred Rupees and in default, six months more. On that very day, it was secretly arranged to send Swamiji to the Hazaribagh Central Gaol. But the people came to know of it half an hour before he left for Hazaribagh. The result was that a surging mass of humanity gathered at the Railway Station to give him a hearty send-off. When he reached the Patna Station, he was welcomed and congratulated by all the important leaders of the Province. This is the short account of Swamiji's undergoing imprisonment, as a reward for his service to India. In the jail he is being treated as a special class political prisoner and he is not put to any inconvenience. In Hazaribagh Jail, there are three hundred other *Satyagrahi* leaders and workers. At the present moment, not less than 15,000 political workers are in the jail of this Province of Bihar of whom about one thousand belong to Shahabad."

While in jail Swamiji was editing a Hindi manuscriptal magazine, *Karagar*, which used to receive contributions from almost all the eminent leaders of Bihar including Babu Rajendra Prasad. During this period of imprisonment Swamiji learnt a good deal of human nature and also got an opportunity for retrospection, so essential to man's own advancement. Swamiji was released after he had

undergone imprisonment for a period of twelve months only as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin truce, according to which all the political prisoners were released. Swamiji has written a pamphlet about the prison-life in which he has given interesting descriptions of his co-prisoners. The pamphlet is known as *My Twelve Months in the Hazaribagh Gaol.*

CHAPTER XXIV

FIRST INDIAN OVERSEAS CONFERENCE

TO bring the question of overseas Indians in the forefront and to enable the people to realise their difficulties and hardships, periodical conferences are most essential. The first session of the Indians Overseas Conference was held during the Easter holidays in 1930 at the time of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Gurukul University, Brindaban. In the absence of the elected-president—Swami Bhawani Dayal who had been sentenced to two years simple imprisonment and a fine of three hundred Rupees on account of his activities in connection with the *Satyagrah* movement, Pandit Benarsi-das Chaturvedi had to work as the acting president of the conference. Swami Bhawani Dayal was, however, able to write out his speech before he went to jail and this speech was read out by the acting President, a summary of which

is given in an appendix.

Besides prominent Indians, who had come to take part in the Silver Jubilee of the Gurukul University, several colonial students were also present in the conference. It is to be noted that about twenty colonial boys were students of the University. Two colonial students had come from Jwalapur Mahavidyalaya and one from D. A. V. College, Dehra-Dun and another from Madras. Swami Shankaranand and Swami Swatantranand who had worked in South Africa and Mauritius, respectively, were also present.

Half a dozen resolutions were passed. The first congratulated Swami Bhawani Dayal, the elected president, on his admirable work in Bihar regarding the *Satyagrah* movement and his consequent imprisonment at the hands of the bureaucracy. The second was in support of the struggle being carried on in Kenya and Fiji for common franchise. It appreciated the step taken by the three elected Indian members of the Fiji Legislative Council. Grateful reference was made to the services of St. Nihal Singh who had been fighting persistently for the rights of Indians in Ceylon. The third resolution was about the necessity of propaganda for Indian culture in the colonies. The fourth contained a request to the educational institutions in India to give special facilities to the colonial Indian students. The fifth resolution was a warning to

the returning emigrants while the sixth condemned the ship companies for their criminal negligence towards the comfort and convenience of the deck passengers.

This Conference of Overseas Indians was first of its kind, and Swami Bhawani Dayal's absence reduced its importance considerably. Still a good beginning had been made. There are not many people interested in the problems of Indians abroad and it will take some time before the Indians Overseas Conference can make its influence felt. Till that time,. the workers in this cause must continue their efforts unrecognised in spite of all difficulties.

CHAPTER XXV

TWO MORE IMPORTANT CONFERENCES

IN May, 1931 the All-India Hindi Editors' Conference was held in the Senate Hall of Calcutta University, which was attended by almost all the prominent and distinguished editors of Hindi journals and many other Hindi litterateurs. It was for the first time in the history of Hindi journalistic conferences that a colonial Indian was elected to preside at its session and this man was Swami Bhawani Dayal. The presidential speech that Swamiji delivered at this conference was of great interest to Hindi journalists, a brief summary of which my readers

will find in an appendix.

The second conference was the Bihar Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, which was held in Baidyanath Dham (Deoghar) in December, 1931. At that time, Swami Bhawani Dayal was seriously ill, yet he could not ignore the request of Babu Rajendra Prasad, the great leader of Bihar and Acharya Badri Nath Varma and he had to accept the presidentship. It was the tenth session of this literary conference and as the president Swamiji delivered a remarkable address dealing with every sphere of Hindi literature. A summary of this speech is also given in an appendix.

CHAPTER XXVI

REPATRIATION

ANOTHER important thing, perhaps the most important, which Swami Bhawani Dayal did during his stay in India, was in connection with the repatriation of Indians from South Africa and other colonies. Even Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. F. Andrews committed a technical error in endorsing it though with some modifications, but Swamiji began to oppose it from its very inception in 1920 and continued his opposition without caring for the views of Gandhiji and Andrews Saheb and ultimately came out triumphant in as much as both of

these eminent figures, realised their misconception and agreed with what Swamiji had been saying from the very beginning.

It was in 1920, that the Asiatic Inquiry Commission suggested a new scheme of repatriation to get rid of the Indians. Mahatma Gandhi did not see any harm in this suggestion and Mr. Andrews, than whom there is no greater friend of Indians abroad, was even a party to it, but Swamiji carried his opposition irrespective of the views expressed by his superiors. Mr. Andrews soon realised his blunder and repented by saying, "I deeply regret that at such a critical time, I should have personally added one pang to Indian humiliation by weakly countenancing repatriation from South Africa."

Swamiji vigorously opposed the new scheme of repatriation in 1921. He went from door to door, estate to estate, explaining to the people the hollowness of the scheme and thus saved a number of people from the snares of repatriation.

At the time of Swamiji's departure from South Africa in 1929, he was asked by his countrymen there to enquire into the condition of repatriated Indians living in different parts of India. He spent nearly three months on this work, visiting Bombay, several places in the United Provinces, Bihar, Calcutta and its suburbs, and Madras. He interviewed hundreds

of repatriates and saw their condition with his own eyes. He issued an interim report in February 1930, requesting the Government of India to appoint a commission of enquiry. In April 1930 the Indian Government did appoint a committee with the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. J. Grey as members, to make an enquiry into the working of the special organisation in Madras for dealing with emigrants returning to the Presidency from South Africa under the scheme of assisted emigration and to make recommendations. Repatriates living in Northern India were thus absolutely neglected. The scope of enquiry was limited and it was further narrowed down by the fact, that the Commissioners were not asked to go to the interior of the Madras Presidency and see with their own eyes the condition of the returned emigrants.

Swamiji's report was almost ready for publication and he wanted to get it published immediately. But the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, for whom Swamiji has a great regard, asked him to postpone the publication of this report for a few months, and he had to obey him. Finally, Swamiji published his report on May 15, 1931, which was popularly known as *A Report on the Emigrants repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa and on the Problem of Returned Emigrants from all Colonies.* In preparation of this report

he was greatly assisted by his friend, Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, who has been working in the cause of the repatriates for sometime, and who added a chapter to it, giving his own experiences and impressions.

This report created a stir in India and abroad, having received the attention of practically all the leading journals and statesmen. Swamiji collected, as far as possible, the opinions of the Press, and published another book entiled *Public Opinion on the Assisted Emigration Scheme under Indo-South African Agreement* before the second Round Table Conference which was held in the beginning of 1932.

Swamiji's report was fully and freely discussed in the Cape Town Conference, which was attended by Sir Fazli Hussain, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Geoffrey Corbett, Sir D'Arcy Lindsay, Sir K. V. Reddi, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu and Sir G. S. Bajpai. At last, the Conference recognised that the possibilities of the Union's scheme of Assisted Emigration to India was exhausted, owing to the fact that eighty per cent of the Indians were South African born and due also to the climatic and economic conditions of India.

CHAPTER XXVII

HONOURED IN THE UNION

THUS after having stayed in India for a period of two years and a half, Swamiji went back to South Africa in March 1932. Before his departure he was editing the *Aryavarta*, a weekly journal of Patna. He had been actively busy all the time, during his sojourn in India, and this told upon the already weak health, he had been keeping for the last so many years. He was advised by eminent doctors to go to Europe for a change in order to recover his health. But he preferred to return to South Africa and try to regain his health there, without being cut off altogether from the cause, which holds so dear to him.

It was about this time that the Durban Corporation honoured Swami Bhawani Dayal by naming a road after his name in Clairwood, a very thickly populated Indian locality. This road is now known as the *Dayal Road*, which is an offshoot of the main Jacobs Road.

In 1934, H. R. H. Prince George (now Duke of Kent) paid a visit to the Union. The Durban Corporation accorded a Civic Reception, in which nine prominent Indians were invited. Swami Bhawani Dayal was one of them. After the formalities had been concluded, a number of citizens including Swamiji, were personally

presented to His Royal Highness. The Natal Indian Congress also gave a banquet in honour of Prince George. Some four hundred guests were assembled among whom were many Europeans. Swamiji was seated at the Prince's table along with other prominent citizens. At the conclusion, he was introduced by Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, the then Agent General for India, and had occasion to have a chat with the Prince.

In the same year, the Natal Indian Congress gave an 'At Home' in honour of the Governor-General and Countess Clarendon in the Durban City Hall. Besides the other formalities, there was an interesting display of archery by the Baroda Girls Guides. With cross-bows, they shot at a thin standing stick, against a large screen. Then a girl who placed herself with her back to the stick, at a considerable distance bending her body completely backwards, shot and hit it. Shooting from a reflection in a mirror, and breaking a hanging thread which supported a swinging ball, were further successful items from their repertoire, and the final feat was that of 'garlanding by an arrow.' A flower garland, suspended above the seated figure of Swami Bhawani Dayal, by a thread so fine that it was difficult to see, was placed in its position over his shoulder by severing the thread with a shot.

In 1935, the Silver Jubilee of Their Majesties

the King George V and Queen Mary was celebrated in Durban with great enthusiasm. Swamiji took an active part in the celebrations which was financed by the Durban Corporation, and his services were acknowledged by the Deputy Mayor, Mr. W. Langton in the following term: "I desire to express my personal appreciation and thanks for your kind co-operation and valuable assistance in connection with the organisation of the Indian Celebrations which were so successful. I appreciate your kind co-operation and trust the Council may rely on your assistance at any time in the future." It was on this occasion that Swamiji got an opportunity to meet and hear a speech of the world-renowned playwright, George Bernard Shaw.

In this very year, Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi was appointed as a Commissioner of Oaths for the District of Durban by the Governor-General-in-Council. His appointment was warmly welcomed in India and abroad. The *United India and Indian States* hailed his appointment in the following words:—

' A *Sannyasi* as justice of the peace will be an interesting innovation even in India, but South Africa has in this matter given the lead by appointing Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi as Commissioner of Oaths, an office to which Indians have only recently been appointed for the first time, through the efforts of Kunwar Sir

Maharaj Singh. Swami Bhawani Dayal is a name well-known to those who have had anything to do with the question of Indians abroad. He is not that type of *Sannyasi* who shuns the world and its battles. He is a *Sannyasi* dedicated to the service of his fellow-beings and in that capacity, the honour of being a Commissioner of Oaths will prove an advantage to him in helping poor Indians. As the *Indian Views* remarks, this honour, in reality amounts to a tribute by the Agent-General (Sir Maharaj Singh) to the Swamiji's varied and sustained labour, both in India and in South Africa."

Swami Bhawani Dayal deserves to be congratulated for the new conception he brings to bear upon the meaning of *Sannyasi*. The *Sannyasis* of olden times were content to transform themselves into recluses, to flee far, far from the maddening crowd, to live a life apart from the rest of the mankind. Not so is the case, however, with our modern *Sannyasis* like Swami Bhawani Dayal, the keystone of whose philosophy is to live among and for the mankind.

He also acted, for a little while, as an Indian Probation Officer in the Durban Court. This office he held in an honorary capacity. It was a kind of social work, in which he was entrusted to look after and try to reform the Indian juveniles, who were given to his care, after suspended

sentence by the Magistrates. He helped many of them to abstain from criminal habits.

I will conclude this chapter by referring to one thing more, although it is a recent event. For the first time in the history of South Africa, the Governor-General invited a dozen Indians to the annual garden party; among them Swami Bhawani Dayal was one.

CHAPTER XXVIII

COLONISATION EPOCH

DURING the Second Round Table Conference in 1932 at Cape Town it was decided by the Governments of India and the Union of South Africa to explore the possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians, both from India and South Africa, in other countries. On this inquiry committee there was to be appointed a representative of the South African Indian Congress. On the completion of the investigations, the results were to be jointly considered by the two Governments.

The Congress Executive, which was present at Cape Town throughout the meeting of the Conference, agreed, with considerable misgiving, to join in the inquiry, provided the Union Government recognised that the Indians in South Africa were not undesirables and that the inquiry was for India's surplus population,

and incidentally for South African Indians, who might voluntarily wish to join.

When Swami Bhawani Dayal returned from India in 1932, he was surprised to learn about the undertaking that had been given by the Congress Executive to the delegation of the Government of India. It may be remembered that his report on the Indian repatriates formed one of the subjects of discussion in the Round Table Conference and resulted in the deletion of the clause containing repatriation from the Cape Town Agreement. He was naturally annoyed with the attitude of his co-workers. But he was assured that the proposed colonisation enquiry was mainly applicable to the increasing and surplus population of India.

After eight months, in August 1932 a session of the South African Indian Congress was held in Johannesburg when Swamiji was also present as a representative of the Natal Indian Congress. There was a heated discussion on the colonisation issue and in the end a resolution was adopted confirming the undertaking which was given to the Government of India Delegation. Now there followed a period of calm—no one could foresee that it was a prelude to the storm which was to break soon after, with such suddenness, sweeping away old ties of friendship, and leaving in its wake animosity and division.

The community was looking forward to a

period of quietness in which to devote its attention to social, educational and other uplift work. With the assistance of the Kunwar Sir and Lady Maharaj Singh, the latter being able to enlist the services of trained European women workers for the Indian movement, great progress had been made in the work.

Nothing was heard of the colonisation question, until June 15, 1933, when the Hon. Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Interior, announced that an inquiry committee was to be appointed in South Africa to undertake a preliminary investigation in furtherance of the Agreement arrived at in 1932. The Congress was given intimation of this appointment, and was asked to appoint an Indian representative on the committee. The Executive of the South African Indian Congress assembled in Durban in July 1933. One of its main work was to elect its nominee on the preliminary colonisation inquiry, to implement the resolution of co-operation already accepted in the last session of the Congress. Mr. R. S. Naidoo was chosen to represent the South African Indians.

This was the starting point of the trouble. A few Congressmen believed that the preliminary inquiry, according to the terms of reference as announced by the Minister of Interior, a month ago, was a departure from the Congress undertaking and therefore advocated non-co-

operation with the inquiry. The other group—the majority of the officials—argued, if they succeeded at this juncture to prove that there was no necessity for any colonisation scheme for the South African Indians, the inquiry, as envisaged by the Cape Town Agreement, might be altogether abandoned.

The Congress, taking stock of the situation, convened an Emergency Conference in August 1933, at Johannesburg to ascertain the views of the community, and to invite the opponents to convince the community. But the opponents refused to participate in the Conference. The colonisation issue was fully discussed, and by an overwhelming majority of votes, the decision of the Executive was confirmed, and the appointment of Mr. S. R. Naidoo as a member of the colonisation enquiry committee was re-affirmed.

On the fundamental issue, that there should be no reduction in the number of South African Indians, there was complete unanimity. The only difference was about the method of approach to the question. Grave charge was levelled against the Congress, of attempting to sell the "birth-right of the colonial-born Indians." They convened meetings from place to place in Natal, telling the people that the Congress was out to sell them. The co-operation of the Congress with the enquiry was made to appear to the people as if it was out to sacrifice the interests

of the poor for the protection of the rich. Class warfare in all countries has always been bitter and when it was reduced to these terms in Natal, especially in Durban and Maritzburg, feeling ran high.

The mass meetings convened by the Natal Indian Congress at the City Halls of Durban and Pieter Maritzburg would ever remain fresh in the memory of South African Indians. The speech, which Swami Bhawani Dayal delivered at the Durban meeting as reported by the *Natal Advertiser* is:— 'The first speaker of the evening was Swami Bhawani Dayal, an exponent in dispassionate but forceful speech, of the Congress case for co-operation in the colonisation inquiry. The Swami expressed himself in Hindustani and appropriate manual gestures, pausing at frequent intervals, to take a sip from a glass of warm water.'

I cannot help quoting here a portion of the report that appeared in the *Natal Witness* of September 5, 1933 about the scenes of rowdyism in the Maritzburg City Hall:—

"When the Rev. A. J. Choonoo opened the meeting with prayer, loud ejaculations were made. For a time being, the meeting subsided into silence, with intermittent interruptions. Then Swami Bhawani Dayal began in Hindustani. "Speak in English" was shouted from the hall, "We don't understand Hindustani,"

The Chairman, Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, asked, "Who were your fathers and grandfathers?" He was greeted with shouts of 'We are South Africans. We are Colonial-borns.' The speaker made another attempt to continue in Hindustani, but the noise drowned his speech and at times it was such that European passers-by outside were attracted by the din and became spectators of rowdy scenes. The ascetic Swami, wearing the yellow turban of his order, with a determined look on his face, stood his ground quietly, remarking that he was prepared to stand there till midnight. At this stage, the chairman declared the meeting closed becacuse the audience, he said, had denied a hearing to the speaker. It is stated that about thirty Indians in the audience were armed with knives, knuckle dusters, bicycle chains and iron-rods, while one man flourished a revolver. The police, who had been sent for, now took charge. Mounting the platform, a sergeant gave the audience ten minutes to disperse. One man was hit in the ear, which bled freely, while another complained that he was to have been "knifed", and as proof submitted a closed knife to the police. Eventually the meeting broke up and the iron doors of the City Hall were closed."

In the bitterness of the time, a new organisation, the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, was formed. The Congress

appointed a strong deputation and gave its evidence before the colonisation committee. It was determined to carry on the work in order to honour the pledge that was given to the delegation of the Government of India and at the same time not to allow the case to go by default. The report of the Colonisation Enquiry Committee, recommending North Borneo, British Guiana, and New Guiana for the purpose of colonisation, was regarded as still-born. The Committee accepted the interpretation of the undertaking given by the Congress and the report declared unequivocally that the colonisation scheme was primarily an Indian scheme undertaken for the benefit of India's surplus millions.

CHAPTER XXIX

FIJI GOVERNMENT AND SWAMIJI

THE statement, that Swami Bhawani Dayal gave before the Magistrate at Arrah, which is given in an appendix, when he was charged under section 124A of Indian Penal Code for delivering speeches likely to create hatred and contempt towards the Government established by law in British India, was reproduced by the *Pacific Press*, a weekly journal of the Fiji Islands, with the following comment:— "We print in this issue Swami

Bhawani Dayal's reply to the charge of sedition made against him. Much of it seems exaggerated, but it is closely parallel to the speeches made on similar occasions by such nationalist leaders as Garibaldi, Kossuth, and De Valera."

Readers would find, on going through it, that there was nothing seditious about it, excepting a convincing summary of the conditions of Indians abroad. Yet the Fiji Government was so upset with it that it thought it advisable to enact a new Press Act to curtail the freedom of the press. The *Modern Review* of July 1931 described the matter in the following manner:—

"Here are some questions and their replies reproduced from the account of the Legislative Council in Fiji, published in the *Fiji Times and Herald*. The following questions and answers were tabled:— (a) Has the attention of the Government been called to the article in Hindi on pages 4 and 5 of the *Pacific Press* of October 18, 1930, headed in Hindi, "May the Empire be destroyed"? (b) What steps the Government propose to take in connection therewith? *Reply*: (a) The answer is in the affirmative. (b) The government has had under consideration for some time past the question of the circulation of seditious publications. It proposes to introduce into this Council at an early date a Bill, the objects of which will be to provide for the punishment of seditious acts

and seditious libel, to facilitate the suppression of seditious publications and to provide for the suspension of news-papers containing seditious matter.

"The question (a) refers to the statement made by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi before the Magistrate of Arrah, during the Civil Disobedience Movement. At the last sessions of the Legislative Council in February last, the Acting Attorney-General introduced a Bill to control seditious publications and newspapers. The object and reasons for its introduction are: 'The Government considers that the time has arrived when it is essential to control the circulation of seditious publications and news-papers.'

"His Excellency the Governor said in his opening speech with reference to this Bill, 'There is no present cause for apprehension; but it is well that the Government should be fully prepared to meet any situation that may arise.' This shows clearly that the Fiji Government is trying to enact this Bill in anticipation of sedition. It is to be remembered that the statement of Swami Bhawani Dayal was made under extraordinary circumstances and it was reproduced in several papers in India and no action was taken by the Indian Government against these papers. It will be really unfortunate if the Fiji Government enacts

the Bill under the cover of this single statement."

The following leading article, which appeared in the *Indian Opinion* of June 9, 1933, will show the subsequent events:—

"Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, it appears, obtained a passport from the Union Government in 1929 to visit the Fiji and other British Colonies. He first visited India and returned to the Union in 1932 with the intention of proceeding therefrom to the Fiji Islands. To his great surprise, Swami Bhawani Dayal received a telegram from the Union Government asking for the passport that was issued to him, and was returned to him with the following remark: 'This passport is not valid for a travel to the Fiji Islands. Vide telegram from Governor, Fiji to Governor-General, Cape Town dated May 5, 1932.'

"Indians in Fiji who were anxiously looking forward to the visit of Swami Bhawani Dayal were painfully surprised at this uncalled for attitude of the Fiji Government and question was asked by the Hon. Mr. K. B. Singh in the Fiji Legislative Council as to whether the Fiji Government had taken steps to prevent the contemplated visit of Swami Bhawani Dayal and if so what was the reason for such action. 'The Government was not prepared to make a statement' was, we understand, the curt reply to the above question. The Hon. Moonsamy

Moodaliar, we are informed, repeated the same question in the Fiji Legislative Council and was referred to the reply given to the Hon. K. B. Singh.

"Subsequently, the Hon. Gaya Prasad Singh, M. L. A., asked a series of questions in the Indian Legislative Assembly on February 6, regarding passport facilities for Indians desiring to visit Fiji Islands and with regard to the cancellation of the passport of Swami Bhawani Dayal. Mr. G. S. Bajpai is reported to have replied, on behalf of the Government of India, that the latter had no information on the subject nor did it propose to make any inquiries as 'Swami Bhawani Dayal is a South African National.'

"We will first examine the attitude of the Fiji Government. What could be the cause that has provoked the action of prohibiting the entry of Swami Bhawani Dayal into its territory? The only cause for such action on the part of any Government would be that the person concerned is a danger to public peace. If the Fiji Government has received information to that effect, in connection with Swami Bhawani Dayal, we can unhesitatingly say that it is entirely wrong. We have known Swami Bhawani Dayal for many years. He is closely associated with the Congress of which he has been the vice-president for a number of years.

His services to the community have been appreciated by every section and we are sure the Union Government has found Swami Bhawani Dayal to be a law-abiding and peaceful citizen. Nor is he a religious fanatic or a fanatic type of Arya Samajist who would create communal friction. He is not known to have done anything of the kind during his life time in South Africa. We have never known him to be an anarchist either in India or in South Africa, nor have we ever known him to preach that doctrine. He has been associated with Mahatma Gandhi from his young age and is his follower.

"Fiji Indians having failed to get a satisfactory explanation from their local authorities, have naturally approached the Government of India through the Legislative Assembly and Mr. Bajpai's reply, we must say, is a sorry exhibition of the care the Government of India has for its nationals abroad. If our own Government can be as callous we have no hope of any better treatment in a foreign country under a foreign Government. 'Swami Bhawani Dayal is a South African national and therefore the Government does not propose to make any inquiries.' Indeed this is some thing to reflect upon for Indians in South Africa. The Government of India has very generously granted us a status we are yet denied by the Union Government! Are we really South

African nationals? Are Indians born in South Africa know no other home like South African nationals in the real sense of the term? Is that the result of the last Round Table Conference between the Governments of the Union and India? We must plead guilty to our ignorance of our new status. We have been claiming South African nationality, at least for those that are born here but that we have acquired it comes to our knowledge for the first time. If what Mr. Bajpai would have us believe is really true, though we know it is not true, might we ask the Government of India why it still allows Indians who are South African nationals who are still being repatriated, to land in India, notwithstanding the fact that India is overpopulated and the unemployment question there is so very acute? Might we also ask the Government of India as to how we are South African nationals when we are not given citizenship rights nor any voice in the country's affairs? And if that is the actual position whom are we to look to for redress if not the Government of India, for though by accident we have been born here our blood is after all Indian? Mr. Bajpai's mind, we fear must have been pre-occupied with the local difficult problems to have given such an irresponsible and evasive reply. Surely the Government of India owes a responsibility to Indian nationals

in Fiji, who must expect to get their interests safeguarded by the Government of India and Swami Bhawani Dayal is more an Indian national than a South African national, as conditions are at the present time. The very least that should be expected is a satisfactory explanation from the Fiji Government of its action in prohibiting the visit of Swami Bhawani Dayal. Its present attitude is the limit of autocratic rule in these days of democracy. If the Government of India is not prepared to bestir itself to do that much, it is certainly a criminal neglect of its duty on its part and badly calls for a change in the present system."

It may be mentioned here that Swamiji had been thinking of visiting Fiji about that time, in compliance with pressing invitations from the Fiji Indians, in order to advice and guide them in composing of their existing differences. In the course of a circular letter, which he sent to his Indian friends in Fiji, he made his position perfectly clear that his visit would not be detrimental in any way to the Fiji Government, but rather he will co-operate with it to better the conditions of Indian settlers, as he has been doing all along in South Africa.

It appears that, later, the Government of India took some interest in the matter and made a representation through its Agent-General in South Africa but it was of no avail. The Fiji

Government blankly refused to reconsider its decision.

CHAPTER XXX

AGITATION IN INDIA

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal visited India again in the end of 1935 as the special representative of the South African Indian Congress, to ventilate the grievances of the South African Indian community before the people and Goverment of India in such a manner as he might consider appropriate. This wide discretionary power enhanced the magnitude of his task and responsibility and he measured every step with caution and mature consideration.

Swami Bhawani Dayal has written an interesting article in the *Chand*, a leading Hindi magazine of Allahabad in which he described the impressions and experiences of his tour and activities in India. Here is the summary of it:—

"On December 2, 1935, soon after my arrival at the port of Madras, a representative of the *Associated Press of India* came to meet me on board the ship, and invited me to visit their office as my first act in Madras. I accompanied him and on reaching the office I was introduced to the Editor-in-Chief, Mr. D. K.V. Kidav. I learnt that the *Associated Press* had been apprised of my impending arrival by Mr. T. V. R. Chari,

the representative of *Reuter* in Colombo, and also about my mission. Mr. Kidav was therefore very anxious to be the first to obtain all the material that I had for publication. The *Associated Press* is a news distributing agency and in view of the keen competition that exists among press agencies all over the world it did not wish to be beaten. For this reason I was brought with special care to their office and was not released until every piece of information was cleverly extracted from me. The result was a tremendous publicity to our cause and I am grateful to the *Associated Press* for giving such a wide publication to my statement throughout India.

"When I took leave of the *Associated Press* office I felt as having been robbed of every information I had. Therefrom I went to the office of the *Hindu*, a leading daily paper, which holds a journalistic tradition and reputation second to none in India. Its get-up and matter is so splendid and original that it is able to compete with the best newspapers of India and abroad. For half a century, is has been rendering great service mainly to Madras and generally to India. Here I met Shri Ramswami Sastri, a brother of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, with whom I had the honour of previous acquaintance. Though he was very busy at the time, nevertheless, he was kind enough to see me at once. We had a

long conversation about the Indian problem of South Africa, which ended in his demanding some material for publication in the *Hindu*. I tried to explain to him that the *Associated Press* will furnish him with a copy of my statement but he insisted on me for writing something fresh for the *Hindu*. Which I did in due course. This article was widely discussed in India and South Africa because in it a true picture of the Colonial-Born and Settlers' Association had been drawn. In reply to my statement, a bulletin was issued by the Colonial-Born and Settlers' Indian Association (Pieter Maritzburg) in February 1936, attacking me personally without touching upon the facts and arguments advanced in my statement.

"From the *Hindu* office, I telephoned to Sir Kurma Venket Reddi, who was then the Law Member and later became the Acting Governor of Madras. It is needless to mention that I came in personal contact with him during his Agent-Generalship in South Africa. Sir Kurma expressed his desire to see me at once. I met him at the Madras Secretariat and we talked for about an hour in relation to the situation in South Africa.

"After taking leave from him, I visited the office of the *Madras Mail* and met the Editor-in-Chief, Mr. A. A. Hayles. He was known to me during his visit to South Africa on the

occasion of the Empire Press Conference. His full sympathies were with Indians abroad and therefore he won our love and good-will. Concerning Indian politics and Indian nationalism, the *Madras Mail* being an Anglo-Indian journal, may have a different policy but in regard to our problem it has always sided affirmatively with South African Indians. He felt a little disappointed on hearing that I had no additional matter to give him for publication, but when I returned late at ten-o-clock in the night to the steamer, I found a reporter waiting for me at my cabin-door. As I was very tired moving about the whole day, I begged him to leave me alone, promising him to send an article later for the *Madras Mail*, but all my appeals went in vain. He won in the end, I granted him an interview and he bade me good-bye only when he was fully satisfied.

"I must not forget to mention one thing more. The very same day, I met the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor of *Indian Review* and a member of the Council of State. He needs no introduction to South African Indians for he is a pioneer champion in the cause of the South African Indians ever since the Passive Resistance Movement which was initiated by Mahatma Gandhi. In response to his personal invitation I contributed a special article on our sufferings and grievances, which appeared in the

Indian Review of January, 1936. The help that the well-known Madras journalists gave me, contributed much to the success of my mission.

II

' In Calcutta, the newspapers conducted by Bengalis did not pay so much attention to the question of Indians abroad as was generally in Madras. The reason for this is that when the indenture system was in vogue, Bengal was not affected like Madras. In the circumstances Bengalis do not feel the question of Indians abroad keenly. Nevertheless, there are in Bengal innumerable persons who take real interest in this question. The Chief-Editor of the *United Press of India*, Bidhu Babu, and the Editor of the *Anand Bazar Patrika*, Makhan Babu, are two of them. My acquaintance with Bidhu Babu is an old one. It had been since the days when he was the Editor-in-Chief of the *Free Press of India* and since then he has kept me helping in the matter of Indians overseas. All the Hindi papers of Calcutta were helpful to me in the propagation of information relating to my mission in India.

"During my stay in Calcutta, I was invited by the Nav-Vidhan Brahma Samaj to visit the residence of the late Keshav Chandra Sen, one of the greatest social reformers of modern India. There, I was to meet Maharani Sucharoo Devi,

who is the eldest daughter of the late Keshav Chandra Sen. On having reached there accompanied by a few friends, I was shown the grave where Keshav Chandra Sen was laid to rest. We were also shown his bed-room where his personal belongings are still kept in his revered memory. Writing these lines, I recollect how, at that moment, my heart became suddenly filled with feelings of reverence at the memory of so great a reformer. In a beautiful hall I met Maharani of Cooch-Behar and her daughter. At the sight of the Maharani, who was attired in very simple style, typical of Indian widows, my heart was once more filled with respect. During the conversation with her the question of Indians overseas was the main topic and she manifested a very live interest in our welfare. I was glad to learn from her that she had heard about the sad story of South African Indians from Mr. Polak in London.

"When I met Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, I was surprised and hurt on finding that his enthusiasm had declined concerning the question of Indians abroad. Both our leaders in India and ourselves are to be blamed for dragging away from the field of activity workers like Chaturvediji. Almost single handed, he tackled our question in India for the last two decades and his name will remain immortal in the history of Indians abroad.

III

"My visit to India synchronised with the celebrations of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress. The Congressmen of Gaya (Bihar) invited me there. Accompanied by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, I visited Gaya. The Congress leaders and workers of Gaya have built a *Rajendra Ashram* in memory of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Indian National Congress. The building of the *Ashram* had a grandeur and a beauty of its own. Thousands of Rupees were spent in its erection.

"Before a gathering of about twenty five thousand peoples, after making a short speech, I had the honour to open the *Ashram*. In declaring so, I paid tributes to Dr. Rajendra Prasad and said that after centuries when the *Light of Asia*, Budha, the great Ashoka and learned Chanakya were born, the sacred land of Bihar had given birth to one who is now known as Babu Rajendra Prasad, the pride and glory not only of Bihar but of the entire India. A mile-long procession with elephants and horses, the like of which was never witnessed before, started from the *Ashram* and after passing through the main thoroughfare terminated in the Whitty Park, where a public meeting was held under the chairmanship of Hon. Syed Hussain Imam, member of the Council of State. I was the only speaker, besides the

chairman, in this meeting which was attended by no less than forty thousand men and women.

"In this trip, I had the opportunity to visit Buddha Gaya also. On seeing the *Buddha Temple* and the *Bodhi Tree* the history of two and a half thousand years began to dance before my eyes. I reflected the golden time of India when the disciples of Buddha had spread Indian culture not only in their own country but also in China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon, Java, Siam, Bali, Sumatra and Lumbak etc.

IV

"On the first day of January, 1936, I met Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, the Secretary for the Government of India, in Calcutta, who made a final appointment with me to meet the representatives of Indian Government at New Delhi in the third week of the month. I decided to see Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, the former Agent-General of India in South Africa, before proceeding to New Delhi. He was then the Home Member of the Government of United Provinces. I went to Lucknow and was his guest for a week. Kunwar Saheb gave me great help in my mission. He took me to a garden party where I had the opportunity to meet and discuss South African question with eminent men like Sir Sitaram, President of the U. P. Legislative Council, Justice Nanwatty of the Oudh

Chief Court, and Dr. Pranjape, Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University. I also met here Mr. Desmond Young, Editor of the *Pioneer* and former Editor of the *Natal Witness*. I could not forget how Mr. Young helped me by his *Pioneer*.

V

"On January 22, 1936, I had an interview with Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad and Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, Member-in-charge and Secretary respectively for the Department of Education, Health and Lands at New Delhi and submitted my memorandum to the Government of India. We discussed the whole day the existing situation in South Africa and the interview was continued the next day. I was satisfied with the attitude of the Government of India concerning the question of Indians abroad. It is an admitted fact that Sir Bajpai is an expert and an authority on the problems of colonial Indians. Sir Bajpai invited me for tea at his residence where I had an opportunity to meet his wife and children and also had some personal talk about Indians in South Africa.

"Shri Paras Nath Sinha, Editor of the *Hindustan Times*, Prof. Indra, Editor of the *Arjun* and other journalists of Delhi gave full publicity to my memorandum and also commented editorially thereon. Suffice to reproduce here the *Reuter's* version from the *Natal Mercury* about

the importance and publicity that was given to my memorandum throughout India:—

'New Delhi, January 26, 1936. Swâmi Bhawani Dayal, a representative of the South African Indian Congress has submitted a statement to the Government of India against the Union Slums Act, and the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act. He also discussed matters with Sir Jagdish Prasad and Sir G. S. Bajpai for two days. Swami Bhawani Dayal's statement has been widely published by the Indian Press, which has commented editorially on the danger of the operation of the Slums Act on racial grounds, urging that the Indian Government should obtain satisfactory assurances. Swami Bhawani Dayal, interviewed, stated that the Government of India was doing its best to safeguard the rights Indians hitherto had enjoyed in South Africa, and is making representations shortly to the Union Government in regard to both laws. Swami Bhawani Dayal intends placing the grievances of South African Indians at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, to which he has received an invitation from the President, Babu Rajendra Prasad.'

VI

"On the 1st of April, I began my tour to attend the session of the Indian National Congress. First of all I went to Patna and met the President,

Babu Rajendra Prasad. According to his advice, I sent in a resolution to the Congress which was under consideration of the Working Committee. Here I met Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, Editor of the *Hindustan Review* and Vice Chancellor of Patna University, who takes interest in the question of Indians abroad. We had good chat about our South African affairs. The Hon. Abdul Aziz, the then Minister of Education for Bihar, also received me at his residence and discussed the South African problems with me for considerable length of time. It was he who proposed a resolution condemning the assisted emigration scheme when I addressed a public meeting in Patna in 1931 under the chairmanship of the late Sir Ali Imam.

"I left for Allahabad from Patna with a view to see Mahatma Gandhi. When I reached *Anand Bhawan*, a beautiful mansion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I was told that Mahatmaji had gone out for a walk. I waited there with Shri Prem Narain Agrawal, M. A., Secretary of the Indian Colonial Association. When Mahatmaji came back from his morning walk accompanied by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I went forth and paid my respect to both of them. Mahatma Gandhi, avoiding the rush of spectators, went straight to his quarters, but Pandit Jawaharlal took me to his drawing room and conversed with me on the question of South

Africa. Meanwhile Mahatmaji sent a message through his secretary, Shri Mahadevbhai Desai, asking me to see him at once. I left Panditji in order to see Mahatmaji. He gave me ample time to explain the present situation of South Africa, although he was very busy with India's affairs. In the end, he promised me to assist the Working Committee in drafting the resolution concerning Indians abroad to be brought before the Lucknow session of the Congress.

"Later, at *Anand Bhawan*, I also met Shrimati Sarojini Devi, who had been the President of our South African Indian Congress for a number of years. This *Nightingale of India* had been always of very great help to me in the cause of South African Indians. I also had the occasion to meet and discuss the question of Indians overseas, with eminent men like Shri Bhoolabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in Central Legislative Assembly, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, now Prime Minister of the United Provinces, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Syed Mahmud, now Education Minister of Bihar, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya, great leader of Andhra, Shri K. F. Nariman, ex-Mayor of Bombay, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, Shri C. Y. Chintamani, editor of *The Leader* and the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru during my short stay in Allahabad. I

reminded Sir Sapru of the statement which he had made at a session of the Imperial Conference that, 'I claim my right to take my seat as a member of King George's household. I shall not be content with a place in his outer stable.' I told him that an Indian writer produced a booklet on this very quotation entitled *Out of the Stable* in which he proved that South African Indians are kicked out even from the outer stable.

VII

"From Allahabad, I went to Lucknow to attend the session of the Indian National Congress. The new rules of Congress preclude delegates from outside India, but I was given an special opportunity to participate and speak in the open session by the President and Working Committee. I was given a complimentary ticket to attend the Subjects Committee and a special invitation for the open session. A seat was alloted to me in the enclosure reserved for the President and members of the Working Committee. The President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, himself moved the resolution and then requested me to speak on the conditions of Indians abroad. It was a great privilege to speak before the chosen representatives of India. I spoke for about twenty minutes dealing with the matter in accordance with the terms of the resolution,

VIII

"With the termination of the Lucknow Congress my mission to India also ended. I left Calcutta on 4th and arrived here on the 29th June 1936. Finally, mention must be made of the assistance rendered in my mission by Mr. A.I. Kajee, Secretary of the South African Indian Congress. I most sincerely appreciate his sagacious and mature advice and material help. His genuine desire to ventilate our grievances in India was a source of inspiration to my mission. I feel that I must place on record my eternal debt of gratitude to him.

"My parting message to India was, through the *United Press*, that she must not forget for a moment her twenty five lakhs of sons and daughters residing overseas, who are building Greater India in their own way. They always look to India for guidance and support, and their salvation entirely depends on the freedom of India but India cannot afford to neglect them till the attainment of *Purna Swaraj* (Complete Independence) but their cause must be tackled along with freedom of India."

CHAPTER XXXI

BHAWANI-BHAWAN

IN the vicinity of Durban, far from the dissonant hum-drum of the city, is situated Jacobs which is almost an European locality particularly on the hill. The residential area is reserved on the top of the hill, while below radiating on all directions are very many factories and it has thus earned the name of Industrial Durban. Upon the same hill is built the *Bhawani-Bhawan* which is named after Swami Bhawani Dayal by his sons, Shri Ramdutt and Shri Brahmadutt, who had it constructed during Swamiji's visit to India in 1936.

The *Bhawan* is erected by Shri B. Bachoo, a well-known artistic Indian builder, and it has a beauty of its own. In *Bhawani-Bhawan* there is a large family library equipped with all kinds of books, especially those dealing with Indians abroad.

The peaceful serenity which is the main feature of Jacobs is most attactive for writers. From the veranda of the *Bhawan* one could discern the Durban Bay from the distance and the steamers lying at anchor in the harbour, the General Post Office, the magnificent City Hall, Howard College—the largest in Natal and the famous Berea Hill. In the night, the beauty of the scene is magnified three-folds, for the lights of the City

scintillate like myriads of stars. A distance of seven miles separates Jacobs from the City. Two miles away from here is the Brighton Beach which is crowded on Sundays by the swarms of bathers.

In Jacobs Swamiji, has lived for the last seventeen years. It was from here that from 1922 to 1925 he had edited and published his journal the *Hindi* from the Jag-rani Press, named after his wife who breathed her last in Jacobs. Swamiji had decided on his return from India in 1936, to keep aloof from the political life and its worries and to devote the rest of his life to writing. But it was not to be, he had to plunge once more, into active politics, as a result of his election as the President of the Natal Indian Congress in May 1938.

CHAPTER XXXII

CONGRESS AS A MASS ORGANISATION.

AN instance of the tremendous organising capacity of Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi came to my notice after the Mss. has been sent to the Press and when most of it was printed. My desire to make the book up-to-date has led me to add one chapter more to it, just to throw some light on this phase on his life also, which is bound to be an outstanding event of his career as a public worker.

The Natal Indian Congress, of which Swamiji was elected President in May 1938, is an institution originally founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894 and had been working since than for the betterment of the Indian settlers there. At the time when Swamiji was entrusted with the work of the Congress as the president, it hardly had a thousand Indian members. It was felt by all concerned that there was an urgent need to make the Congress more representative and stronger in order to enable it to take effective and greater interest in the problems affecting the Indian community there. In other words, the Congress stood in need of a powerful and hard-working President to guide its activities with a view to make it a living institution by enlisting more members, opening the new branches and organising the older ones in the whole of the province, winning confidence of sister communities, and in one word, by making it an organisation of the Indian people. It was, at this fateful hour that Swamiji was elected to conduct the affairs of the Congress, which he is doing with great success.

Strenuous work, which Swamiji did to make it a mass organisation, has been widely acknowledged and people have paid glowing tributes to his work even at this time, when his term of office is not ever.

The Natal Daily News in its issue of December 10, 1938 wrote thus;—

"Since his election as the President of the Natal Indian Congress in 1938 more than five thousand members have been enrolled. Branches have been established in all parts of the province and the Congress has become a mass organisation."

Councillor S. J. Smith M. P. C. while speaking in the first Conference of the Natal Indian Congress admitted that it was never so *powerful, well-organised and strong*.

Mr. B. Rama Rau, C. I. E., Agent-General for India, speaking in the Conference said:—

"I am glad to see that the Indian public is showing by its presence here to-day its interest in its political welfare. In order that the Natal Indian Congress should be able to speak with the strongest possible voice, it is necessary that it should be truly representative of all sections of the Indian community. I have been very pleased to hear that as a result of your President's efforts several branches of Congress have recently been opened in Northern Natal.

"I will close with an expression of appreciation of the work which has been carried out by your Executive Committee, and particularly by your President, Swami Bhawani Dayal, and Joint Honorary Secretaries, Mr. Kajee and Mr. Godfrey. They have all laboured hard and well; but to Mr. Kajee the special thanks of the community are due for keeping the Congress alive under somewhat difficult circumstances for

over two years. The Congress to-day has been revitalised and during the last few weeks it has shown considerable virility. Swami Bhawani Dayal has been announcing the arrival of new members of the family almost every week."

Swamiji himself, while speaking at this Conference on the organisation, threw some light on this point by saying:—

"Congress has never been so strong nor so representative since its inception as it is to-day. It has become a mass organisation. Thousands of members have been ennolled within the last eight months. It is an achievement unparalleled in the history of the Congress and Community. With unprecedented enthusiasm prevailingevery where, the Congress has become a matter of conversation and discussion in every Indian home. I personally bear testimony to this new awakening that has come to stay in the Indian community. Men and women, rich and poor, young and old, peasants and labourers, Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Parsees are all equally interested in the activities of the Congress. The declaration made by Mr. A. I. Kajee soon after the annual meeting as to the policy of the Congress that henceforth the Congress will devote its time and use its resources chiefly for the upliftment of the poorer section, has produced a desirable effect and the Congress is no more an organisation of some arm-chair

politicians, possessing big names and loud speeches. Now the Congress requires the services and sacrifices from its leaders in the cause of the community.

"I am in a position to announce to-day that the Congress has its branches throughout Natal. Since the last election the old branches were re-organised and new branches have been formed, each possessing a large membership. The Congress has branches at Pietermaritzburg, Greytown, Estcourt, Ladysmith, Glencoe, Dundee, Dannhauser, Newcastle, Vryheid, Stanger, Chakas Kraal, Tongaat, Verulam, Sea-view, Clairwood, Isipingo and Port Shepstone."

Besides making the Congress so powerful, Swamiji has been able to do many other useful things for the Indian community through this. The first Conference, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress, provided an opportunity to Indians and Europeans to come together to consider the conditions as affecting the Indian community, and to devise ways and means for making further progress and more rapidly. Among other useful measures that are receiving the attention of the Natal Indian Congress may be mentioned here the Holiday Home for poor Indian children and the Child Welfare Departments in its branches. The Congress also extended an invitation to the distinguished Indian philospher Dr. Sir Radhakrishnan to undertake

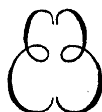
a lecture tour in South Africa and this he has kindly accepted. The presence of such an eminent Indian thinker and his learned lectures in South Africa are bound to create an impression on the minds of the white settlers. Occasional visits of eminent Indians to the colonies where Indians are settled often prove of great advantage to them in as much as these help to raise them in the esteem of the whites, and it is for this reason that Indians always look to such visits with great expectations. Sir Radhakrishnan was the guest of the Congress during his stay in Natal.

Before Swamiji could give his finishing touches to the schemes launched under his presidentship and before he was able to consolidate the work he had done, he was asked to go to India to enlist sympathy and support of the Indians by arousing the public opinion here against the segregation proposal of the Minister for Interior of the Union Government. The reported legislation has threatened the position of Indians in South Africa to such an extent that they are driven to desperation and at a few hours' notice decided to depute Swami Bhawani Dayal to India in order to apprise the people and the Government of India its real implications.

Swami Bhawani Dayal left South Africa on February 26 by *S. S. Takliwa* and arrived in Bombay on March 18, 1939. He had a

conference with the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association the same day. Since he addressed a public meeting at Delhi under the presidentship of Shrimati Sarojini Devi, which was attended by the members of the Central Legislative Assembly, and the Council of State, well-known journalists and eminent citizens of Delhi. The messages from Mahatma Gandhi, Ex-Agent Generals of India in South Africa, Prime Minister of the Indian Provinces and other distinguished leaders which were received on this occasion clearly indicates the bitter feelings created in India against the segregation policy of the Union Government.

Swami Bhawani Dayal intends to remain in India till the next Bihar session of the Indian National Congress, touring every province with a view to enlisting support for the Indian settlers in South Africa in their fight against the segregation proposals.



PART II



THE LATE SHRIMATI
JAG-RANI DEVI
(1912)

CHAPTER I

THE LATE SHRIMATI JAG-RANI DEVI

BORN in a small village, unaffected by modern progress, and of orthodox parents, Shrimati Jag-rani Devi showed wonderful adaptability in moulding her life to suit the changed atmosphere of a new order, when she was married to Pandit Bhawani Dayal.

She has had no education whatsoever at her parental house. All that she learnt was submission to her husband, which later enabled her to play such an important part, not only in her own life but also in her husband's public career. Swamiji should to be congratulated for educating her and making her a better partner for the struggle of life. She responded to her husband's wishes with remarkable devotion, so characteristic of Hindu wives. All her life, she held the idea that her foremost duty was to please her husband.

Swamiji taught her, not only how to read and write but many other things also which are essential for human progress. She grasped the new things so rapidly and carefully that during the latter years of her life, she proved to be of inestimable help to her husband in his many sided activities. In fact, it was mainly due to her encouragement that Swami Bhawani Dayal was able to do a lot of good of the people and

continue his public life. In her, he found a source of inspiration for his activities to further the cause of Indians abroad. She equally shared the joys and sorrows with her husband in the days of peace and commotion, and she never forgot her duty towards her husband.

During the early part of her married life, she was subjected to many hardships and sufferings. When she was on board the ship in 1912, on the shores of South Africa, waiting for the permission to land in Natal, she underwent acute mental agony by the harassments of the Immigration authorities, and subsequent trouble which she encountered in Volksrust and Pretoria regarding immigration formalities, was a great trial for her courage and patience.

She did not lag behind and stay at home comfortably, when Swamiji decided to join the *Satyagrah* movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi in 1913 and followed her husband in courting the arrest. She was a notable figure in the great Indian strike and consequently she went to jail, with her baby in arms and suffered cheerfully all the rigours of the prison life for the sake of her countrymen.

Later, when Swamiji was engaged in the propagation of Hindi, she had all along been helping him. In the Clare Estate *Hindi-Ashram*, she used to teach Hindi to the poor Indian children without expecting any reward

for her service. She had the courage to send her son, Ramdutt to *Gurukul* Brindaban even when she was critically ill, hovering between life and death.

The press that was established at Jacobs, was the result of her ambition. She was very anxious to get a journal issued in the cause of Indians abroad, but before she could see her ambition realised, she had breathed her last, leaving her husband to fulfil her desire! Her husband, too, loyally responded to her last wishes, named the press after her, and published the weekly *Hindi* for a number of years, which will ever remain a sacred memory of her love to Hindi and Hindustan.

Much of the writing work that Swamiji did as a journalist and an author in those days was solely due to her inspiration. She used to encourage him to write continually on the sad and pathetic conditions of overseas Indians. Swamiji was able to write out many books of importance and a good deal of articles to the press. It is abundantly clear that after the death of Deviji, Swamiji has not been able to do so much work as a writer as he did during her life. She was an inspiring companion and fine partner in the true sense of the word. At her premature death, Swamiji lost his heart, though he continued his public career, but not with so much enthusiasm. During her brief stay with

Swamiji in this mortal world, she actually showed what a faithful wife can do, not only for her husband but also for the country.

Her death was mourned in India and abroad. In the opinion of Mr. H. S. L. Polak, '*She was a brave and patriotic woman, and a true daughter of India*'. Mr. C. F. Andrews paid the following tribute in The *Servant* :—

"I have just received the very sad news by mail from South Africa that Jag-rani Devi, the brave and devoted wife of Pandit Bhawani Dayal, the Editor of the *Hindi* in Natal, has passed away in death. The blow will be very greatly felt by the whole Indian community at this critical time. My own memory of Jag-rani Devi goes back to the year 1913-14, when I was in South Africa, helping in the Indian struggle. She was one of those very brave Indian ladies who went with Mrs. Gandhi to prison joyfully for the sake of their country. She had a little baby at the time, who was only a year and a half old. I think my memory is correct (it is now nearly ten years ago) and that she was one of those who were in jail when I was asked by the Indian cummunity to visit them. I went to the jail superintendent and asked permission to see them. With a sneer, he asked me "Are they your relations?" I answered, "They are my friends." But he would not let me. He made the sneering remark "Are these Asiatics

your relations? If you are not related to them, you cannot see them." I explained that they were my friends, but this was of no avail. Later on they were released, and I can remember the pitiful sight it was. They were so emaciated by suffering. After some days the news came to me by cable, that my own mother in England had passed away, and the news affected me very deeply indeed. At that time these Indian ladies, who had themselves been in jail and had suffered so much, came to visit me and to comfort me. And I can never forget what comfort they then gave me. With all these memories, it is easy to understand, what a blow it was to me when I heard from Pandit Bhawani Dayal himself that his wife had died."

In the columns of The *Leader* Mr. Andrews wrote again thus:—

"It is difficult for me to explain to the people of India how great will be the loss in Natal through the death of Jag-rani Devi. She was one of the ladies whose character was moulded and fashioned by suffering and she was a mother to her own people. Her heart was always with the poor and she was never so happy as when she was teaching and caring for the children of the poor. It is necessary to understand that in South Africa a very large number of Indians, who have been indentured labourers in the past, are still living in terrible poverty and ignorance

and misery. Her motherly heart was torn by the suffering she witnessed and in her ceaseless endeavours to relieve their misery she laboured on and at last in the midst of her labours met her death. She lived and died for the poor and the oppressed."

CHAPTER II

SWAMIJI—THE MAN

THE wide and varied activities of Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi has made him a very interesting man. His mature experience, knowledge of human nature, grasp of the situation whether political, social, educational, economic or religious; and above all, a heart to feel with the poor and down-trodden, and a burning desire to ameliorate their miserable conditions; have all contributed to make him a remarkable man.

One is bound to be struck by his qualities of head and heart in the first meeting of however short duration it may be. He is bound to find in him a man who is ready to understand him, hear him and help him, if he possibly can. Swamiji gives a patient hearing to every man or woman whatever his social status. To him all human-being are equal and command his equal care and affection. He is a good conversationalist in as such as his listeners will be thoroughly

satisfied with him. He could talk on a variety of subjects and in an interesting and absorbing manner, which appeals to his listeners. His powerful and clear voice adds charm to the conversation. Swamiji will not get annoyed or loose his temper so easily even at the greatest provocations, so common in ordinary human nature. He will always be found accomodating, and the talkers may not feel or even know what Swamiji has disliked in his talks. He would, however, respect the honest views of opponents, and thus add to the joy of the company he may be keeping.

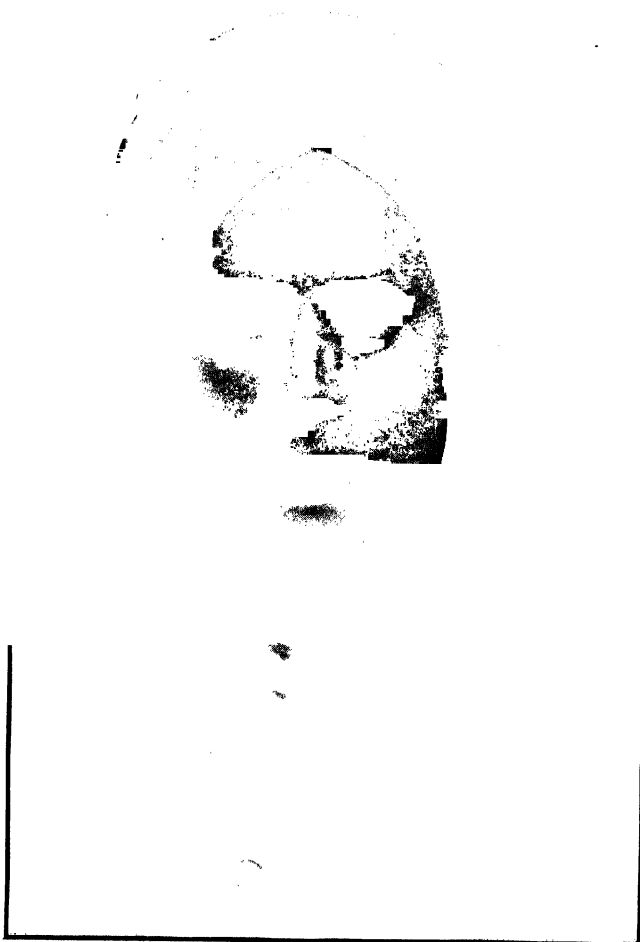
I am particularly impressed by the methodical work of Swamiji. There is an order in every thing he does. His things are properly arranged and kept at their right places to be obtained easily whenever required. They do not get accumulated at one and the same place demanding a good deal of time in their search when needed. But every thing of Swamij's ought to be rightly placed and neatly arranged, in order to inspire him to proceed with his work undeviatingly.

Even the letters, which I have the privilege to receive in large numbers, during the several years of our correspondence and acquaintance, have always made me think of his regular habits and orderly life. His hand-writing is well-set, every line of which is written with the same ease

and facility. It is difficult to find any haste in all the letters I have so far received. Every letter is well marked, well prepared and despatched with care. If letter writing is an art, I must say, Swamiji is an artist of a high rank. A collection of his letters, from this point of view is bound to be of the great interest.

Swamiji's love for work is an example to others. He is an indefatigable worker, and it is largely due to this wonderful quality of his, that he has been able to do so much of work in various spheres, within such a short period. Really he loves work. He cannot sit idle. He must have some thing to do. Without any thing in hand or in mind he will pass his time restlessly. Whenever ill, which is unfortunately generally the case with him, one is bound to find him busy mentally in thinking over this question or trying to solve that problem; and when he is well, able to do work with body, he would be busy in some such work requiring the use of physical strength.

When he takes up a work, he must complete it in the shortest possible time, with marked success, before he can take up any thing else. All the time his mind would be busy with that particular work, and he would always think how to do it effectively and efficiently. While engaged in the work he would not mind personal inconveniences or strenuous labour to serve the purpose, the result of which may even tell upon



SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI

(1934)

his health. There have been occasions, when his overwork has greatly effected him, after the work was done, and he had to be confined to the bed for months before he could be able to resume his work.

Swamiji has a frail body. His health is shattered because of the overwork he has been doing. In fact, he looks older than what actually he is. He is only forty-seven years old, yet he looks so exhausted and so pale. His thin body and short stature does not suggest that he is capable of yielding enormous influence, as he really does, with the Indians in India and abroad.

CHAPTER III

AS A BUILDER OF GREATER INDIA

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal will go down in the history as a builder of Greater India. When the history of Indians overseas will come to be written, he would rank as one of the foremost workers for having devoted all his life to this particular cause. We are grateful to many workers in India and abroad who have taken an active part to better the lot of Indians overseas and have done much useful work in this direction. Their names will be recorded in golden letters in the history of greater India. But Swamiji holds an unique position, as he has devoted almost all his life in this cause. What-

ever he did, in any capacity and in any sphere of public life, the only idea prevailing in his mind was that of furthering the cause of his people abroad, which for a pretty long time did not receive the adequate and careful attention of the people and the Government of India.

As a speaker and as a writer, Swami Bhawani Dayal always spoke and wrote about them. Almost all his books and articles bear testimony of this statement of mine. Even when he was called upon to speak or write on such matters not directly connected with this question, he, however, did not fail to make references about Indians abroad.

All other work, whether in the realm of politics, social, educational, religious or any thing else, has been undertaken by him with one sole purpose to ameliorate the conditions of colonial Indians. Swamiji worked, and worked hard in all those spheres which, he thought, can, in any way, improve their status, position and condition. Their welfare has always been his main consideration and it was with this idea in his heart that he has been directing all his energy.

When he was arrested, charged and imprisoned in India as a result of his speeches in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, he suffered joyfully all the rigours of the prison life, knowing and feeling that so

long India remains under foreign subjection, it is impossible for her to safeguard and protect the rights and interests of her nationals abroad and the sooner she could acquire power to manage her own affairs, the better, it would be for both, India and the people of greater India. Therefore, he deemed it most appropriate to sacrifice his life at the altar of freedom on behalf of Indians abroad. The statement which was submitted in connection with his trial abundantly proves my inference.

Among the Indians born in the colonies, he stands out as a most influential and a trusted worker. His services to the cause have created a permanent impression on our minds which would go down positively in the history in glowing terms.

To my mind, Swamiji is one of the best workers in the cause of Indians overseas. He has contributed his quota towards the building of Greater India. It must be remembered that his foresight, clear thinking and the tactful handling of the situations were beneficial and correct, beyond any doubt, when even the great personalities committed an error of judgement and when people were overshadowed by their opinion, and they failed to realise the facts. Swamiji did not like to mince matters and he stood against the great personalities and opposed them to the fullest extent.

The question of language is most important one in order to enable the Indians to preserve their nationality in foreign lands. There was a sharp division on this question at the Kimberley session of the South African Indian Congress between the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi. Swamiji had the courage of conviction to differ from Sastriji on this fundamental principle of nationalism and convinced the people of the blunder they are committing under a false assumption. This controversy was of a national importance to Indians abroad and they realised the necessity of preservation of their national language and culture.

The next important question over which Swamaji differed with other distinguished leaders was that of repatriation. They were Mahatma Gandhi and Rev. Andrews. The beauty of the whole thing was that both of them acknowledged publicly the inevitable results of the repatriation which brought suffering and misery to thousands of Indians. Swamiji was holding this very view since the inception of this obnoxious scheme.

We may fail to realise the importance of the work done by Swami Bhawani Dayal at this critical time in our history, as we are awfully busy with our own affairs and have no time to look after the matters concerning Indians over-

seas. But when our motherland would be freed and we will be able to take stock of our people in India and abroad, and the life and condition of latter under which they had lived and are living and their future relation with India, we would understand, in right perspective, the true implication of the services rendered by the Swami, which he is continuing almost without recognition. We shall then class him as one of the foremost builders of Greater India.

Swami Bhawani Dayal's selfless and devoted services in the cause of our thirty lakhs countrymen overseas, will ever remain as the mile-stones for our future generation. If we get an opportunity to look at them and feel proud of their achievements, despite so many odds under which they have been labouring almost from the very beginning, the credit must be given to the workers who are engaged in their cause and among them Swamiji is a notable one.

The future alone will decide the significance of the work done by Swamiji, and his rank would not be, I am sure less than those patriots in India, who have been working so nobly to liberate India from foreign domination. The sphere of Swamiji's work has been different, but it cannot be denied that he is also working in his own way to achieve the same object. The people in India generally do not appreciate the services to the colonial workers owing to their pre-occupations.

Swamiji has really shown remarkable patience and courage in confining his activities to this cause. He has shunned publicity by his silent work in this particular direction, equally noble and great, but not so popular at this juncture of our struggle for freedom. Swamiji could have easily risen to fame and attained a position in India, but he has dedicated his life in the services of Indians abroad, and therefore we would ever remember him as a *Builder of Greater India.*

CHAPTER IV

AS A SPEAKER

THE faculty of speech to impress the public has endowed Swami Bhawani Dayal with so essential a force while trying to expound his cause, the want of which would have made him powerless to do so many things. Even the half of the work that he has done, would have been impossible.

He is a clear and powerful speaker. He is able to explain his point of view with marked success. He arrays his arguments in a convincing manner. Whenever needed, he is capable of displaying the command. He uses appropriate gestures.

As a speaker, most of his speeches have been delivered in India and South Africa. But in

these two countries, he has been given the opportunities to speak from almost all the platforms. In India he has often spoken from the rostrum of the Indian National Congress.

In his various capacities, as a political worker, social reformer, religious missionary or civil resister, his faculty of speech always helped him, and it is for this quality that he has been successful in doing so much good work for the upliftment of his people in India and abroad.

CHPTER V

AS A WRITER

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal is well-known as an author and journalist, having been born from almost from his boyhood. Besides being a good pastime for him, these qualities have been instrumental in farthering the cause, to a great extent, which he holds so dear to his heart.

Much of his success in public life is due to these two qualities, which he continued to pursue from the beginning of his public career till the present day. The cause he championed, stood in need of becoming popular and the popularity it enjoys now is not upto the mark, yet Swamiji is responsible for the awakening to a certain extent, and this is the result of his these two particular qualities. As a speaker he

has done considerable work in India on behalf of his people abroad. But as he stays in South Africa for most of the time, it is not possible for him to continue his work through speeches in India, therefore he has got to use only the medium of his pen, which he has always employed to achieve his aim. He regularly contributes to the Indian press and thus keeps alive the question of Indians abroad in the minds of the Indian people.

His interest in journalism can be traced back to his boyhood. He was engaged as an assistant editor of the *Aryavarta*, a Hindi magazine published from Bhagalpur, when he was only twenty. In South Africa, he was appointed to act as the editor of Hindi-section of the *Indian Opinion* in 1914, soon after his release from goal. Here he learnt a good deal of journalism, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1917-18, he edited another weekly the *Dharmavir* of Durban, the circulation of which went up by leaps and bounds owing to the affective writings of Swamiji.

In 1922, however, he opened a press of his own and edited and published a weekly journal known as *Hindi*, having two sections, one of English and other of Hindi. It circulated almost in all the colonies and India, and its special numbers were really worthy of praise. Within a short time it aquired a position, which

may be well described as a mouth-piece of Indians overseas. Swamiji sustained heavy financial loss and its publication was given up when he was asked to go to India as a member of the South African Indian Deputation, which visited the country in 1925.

His passionate zeal for journalism found expression even in goal, when he was serving the term of imprisonment in India as a civil resister in 1930, where he undertook to edit a monthly manuscript magazine the *Karagar*, several issues of which were brought out. Swamiji also edited the *Aryavarta*, a Hindi weekly of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Bihar in 1931, but he had to give up the editorship in 1932 owing to his departure for South Africa.

Apart from his editorial work, he has continually contributed to leading journals in Hindi and English in India and abroad, the collection and publication of which in a volume is desirable.

He began his work as an author in 1914 after the termination of the passive resistance movement in South Africa. His first book was published in 1916 known as *Dakshin Africka ke Satyagrah ka Itihas* (History of the Passive Resistance in South Africa) in Hindi. It was an illustrated and interesting book and produced a good effect regarding the principle and application of *Satyagrah.* It was published at the time

when *Satyagrah* was not so known to the Indian masses and therefore it was greatly appreciated by the press and the public. Swamiji had written a number of books and all of them were well received in the literary circle.

It was his desire to devote the rest of his life in writing after his return from India in 1936. He had made all the necessary arrangements to carry out his desire, when he was called upon to serve the community as the President of the Natal Indian Congress. Now he is fully engaged in the Congress activities and has no time for any other work, much less for literary work. It is, however, hoped that after the termination of the term of his office, he would be able to take up his writing work. The books he is likely to produce, I am sure, will deal with no other subject than his own dear one for which he has always worked about the life, conditions and difficulties of his people settled in far-off lands.

CHAPTER VI

AS A PROPAGANDIST

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal is a successful propagandist. He knows how to do propaganda and he has done a lot to arouse general awakening in the cause of Indians abroad, which he could never have accomplished, had he not been acquainted in this,

Propagandists often misuse their skill, either by supporting a wrong view or by trying to achieve their own selfish ends. But when it is done to further some noble cause, it is highly commendable. It is a nice accomplishment and every one is not born gifted with this. Swamiji has carefully made use of his precious gift and in the right directions. On account of this alone, he had been able to carry on his work so smoothly.

He possesses the faculty of speech and power of pen, which are valuable assets in this work. As a propagandist, he has employed both to accomplish his objective. His trips to India have been most successful. He was always able to do more propaganda work than was expected from him for Indians abroad in general and those in South Africa in particular, and it was the main object of his most of the trips. During his visits in India, the cause of overseas Indians used to come in the fore-front at least for some time. Article and news used to flood the Indian press. Newspapers having any importance, never failed to take notice of his presence and his cause and herein lies the success of his misssion.

As I have written elsewhere in this work, I felt during his last visit to India that he can do all that, which a delegation or several persons from overseas countries can do or even

more than what they all have done taken together. Owing to his so many visits to India, which he undertook at intervals, he knows all the possible sources from where he should expect help.

Even when in South Africa, he does not forget the value of propaganda, and so he contributes articles on the questions dear to him. From there too, he continues his propaganda work and with great success. In fact this quality of his has given just and fair place to the cause of Indians abroad in the public life of India.

CHAPTER VII

AS A POLITICAL WORKER

THE history of Indian settlers in overseas countries is the history of the struggle for human rights. This very cause led Mahatma Gandhi to start the passive resistance movement in South Africa. Since Mahatmaji left South Africa, the conditions of our people have not been very satisfactory. The people, who fought so bravely under the leadership of Mahatmaji, have grown rather lethargic and the number of Indians who can sacrifice everything for their cause in South Africa, is now not very large. Among the few workers they have in South Africa, Swami Bhawani Dayal must be counted as one. He is a worthy son of Greater India and the Motherland may well be proud

of him.

Swamiji worked in the political field purely for the human rights of Indians abroad. He joined the *Satyagrah* movement and courted imprisonment with his wife and baby. He has been closely associated with the Natal Indian Congress and the South African Indian Congress which are fighting for the human and political rights of Indian settlers. He was a member of the South African Indian Deputation that visited India in 1925. Many times he came alone to arouse Indian public opinion in favour of overseas Indians.

He also participated in the fight of India's freedom and went to jail for the sake of the Motherland. Mahatma Gandhi once remarked that India's struggle for independence will begin by Indians abroad and his words were proved prophetic. Our nationals have been insulted in the colonies and dominions and we feel the insult as we never felt before. Our eyes have opened and we gaze with surprise how low we have fallen in the estimate of Nations. All our dreams of a Commonwealth of Nations in which India should occupy an equal position have been shattered and we see the waves of White Race Supremacy surging violently towards us as if they would sweep us away altogether.

CHAPTER VIII

AS A SOCIAL REFORMER

A reformed society and a sufficiently high standard of living of the Indians is most essential in the atmosphere of the colonies, if Indian settlers wish to command respect from other sections of the population. There are some customs which may be over-looked or tolerated in India, but they will definitely injure the national prestige of overseas Indians. There they have got to come in close contact with Europeans, Africans and other Asiatic nations, and therefore, it is desirable that they should keep themselves up to the mark in order to fit in that environments. They have got to adapt themselves according to the requirements of the place and time. It does not, however, mean that they should discard their religion and culture, but the minor adjustments in their social order cannot deprive them of their hereditary traditions.

Apart from colour prejudice and racial discrimination, one of the reasons why White settlers have a bad impression about India and Indians, is that they had, for a considrable time, failed to adapt themselves to new conditions.

Swami Bhawani Dayal had realised the necessity of social reform. As a well-known social reformer, he has done much to bring about changes in the social order of Indian settlers to suit the

altered conditions, Though the colonial Indians have given up most of the social evils, which still exist in India, yet some of them are closely wrapped in useless social usages, which are disappearing even from India to-day.

Swamiji is not only a man of words but of deeds as well. He himself came forward to show the way to others. He invited only five persons to join the marriage party of his eldest son, Shri Ramdutt with Shrimati Prakashwati. In the marriage of his nephew, Shri Krishnadutt, only Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Shri Sorabjee Rustomjee, Shri Abdulla Ismail Kajee and Dr. Seedat were invited to bless the couple. He gave his neice, Gayatri Devi in marriage to Shri J. Manganlal, irrespective of caste distinction. Thus both by his advise and action, he cleared the way for social reform among the Indian settlers.

CHAPTER IX

AS AN ARYAN MISSIONARY

IT is an admitted fact that it is the Aryan missionaries who have done a lot of educational, social and other beneficial work among overseas Indians, apart from their religious work. Any one whoever happens to go to the colonies, cannot but be struck by the wonderful work that the Arya Samaj has been doing there

for the social and educational progress of the Indian settlers. In fact, one must go to the colonies, to realise the potentialities of the Arya Samaj as an institution for the regeneration of Hindu Society. Schools for boys and girls that are being conducted so efficiently, bear testimony to the managing capacity of the Arya Samajists in the colonies. The Arya Samajists abroad are a small minority as compared with the followers of other religious organisations, but they are a compact body fired by enthusiasm and determined to do their work wholeheartedly.

So far as I am aware, the Arya Samaj was the first to reach the overseas Indians and at a most critical time in their history, when they were forgetting India, Indian culture and Indian traditions by the foreign influence. The Arya Samaj saved them and brought them back to the fold of ancient Indian civilisation. It proved to them, beyond doubt, that their own religion and culture and philosophy are in no way inferior to any in the world, rather it is far superior.

The following message, which was sent to the Dayanand Centenary at Muttra by Mr. C. F. Andrews, an acknowledged authority on the question of overseas Indians, throws a flood of light on the activities of Arya Samaj in the colonies:—

"My heart has been deeply touched by what I have seen being done by the Arya Samaj

among Indians abroad in the colonies. They are the one body who actively keep up interest in India, the Motherland, and in Hindi as the National Language and in the Aryan ideals of ancient India as the birth-right of every Indian. In East Africa and Zanzibar, in Uganda and Tanganyika, in South Africa and Rhodesia, in Fiji and Malaya, in Singapore and Mauritius,—in all these places alike the interest in Hindu culture has been sustained by the Arya Samaj. Constantly in the Press for many years I have tried to make this known by articles written by my own hand. I have also tried to get these articles translated into Hindi and other languages of India, in order that the facts might become known not only by the English educated but also by the masses of the people. The most important work which has been done by the Arya Samaj has been educational work. I have visited Arya Samaj boy schools, girl schools, educational classes among the women and clubs among the men. This work has been sustained and progressive. It has enthusiasm and vitality behind it and, therefore, I believe that it has a future before it. To my great happiness I have learnt that since my last visit to Africa the one thing that I urged more than any other has been accomplished and the Arya Samaj has undertaken educational work among the Africans as well as the Indians themselves.

In South Africa, I would specially refer to the remarkable work done by Pandit Bhawani Dayal and his revered wife and the great loss that the South African Indian community has suffered in the loss of his wife, Shrimati Jag-rani Devi

"I am extremely anxious that the Centenary of Rishi Dayanand should be marked by a great advance in this educational work among Indians abroad in the colonies. If it is at all possible for me to do so, I should dearly like to be present at the Centenary itself and plead the cause of Indians abroad and their need of help from their brethren in India. Of all the different communities in India who might be able to help them I can think of none so active and energetic and enthusiastic as the Arya Samaj. I trust that a special arrangement will be made at the Centenary for the carrying out of this work and that devoted young men may offer themselves for this service.

'In conclusion, I would urge one thing from my own experience as vitally necessary for the success of the movement in the colonies. The educational work should be carried out entirely without any controversy and without any attack on any other form of religion. What is needed among people who are so depressed and so full of suffering as our countymen abroad is this that there should be co-operation of

all the forces which are making for righteousness and goodness and that good fellowship and mutual charity should exist between all workers working for the same end of Humanity."

Swami Bhawani Dayal's contribution to the Arya Samaj is beyond description. He has made every attempt to popularise it among his countrymen in India, in South Africa and else where. In fact, wherever he went he took with him the great principles of Vedic religion and the message of Rishi Dayanand for the regeneration of the Indian nation. Swamiji persuaded many workers in India to take up the educational work in the colonies. It was due to him that Pandit Gopendra Narain Pathik went to Fiji Islands and did a lot of work for them in various spheres of life.

Swamiji's interest in the Arya Samaj dates back to 1908 when he was only a boy of sixteen. He started an Arya Samaj in his own village, Bahuara in Bihar and was elected president. He opened another Arya Samaj in Sasaram, the famous City of Sher Shah, after having defeated the orthodox *Pandits* in *Shastrarth.* He became a well-known figure in the circle of the Arya Samaj and was appointed an honorary preacher by the Bihar Arya Pratinidhi Sabha to spread Vedic doctrines.

When he went to South Africa in 1912, he continued to preach the Vedic religion in spite

of stiff oppositions and numerous difficulties. However, he succeeded in his mission. It was he who started radical changes in the community. There were only *Namaste* and *Havan* in existence among the Arya Samajists before his arrival in South Africa and other *Sanskars* were not celebrated according to Vedic rites. Swamiji persuaded a couple to discard old custom, and the first marriage was performed by him according to Vedic rites in 1917 in a hut at Hattigspruit, which created a sensation in the Hindu people, who were observing the same old customs of their ancestors without any consideration. Since then hundreds of marriages have been performed according to Vedic ritual and now it is much appreciated by the Hindu youth of South Africa.

Swamiji performed the opening ceremony of the Aryan Benevolent Home at Mayville in 1921, an useful institution founded by the Arya Yuvak Sabha. In 1925, when it was decided to celebrate the centenary of Rishi Dayanand, founder of the Arya Samaj, in South Africa also, Swamiji was elected the president of the Rishi Dayanand Centenary Celebrations Committee of South Africa. The function was a grand success. On this very occasion the Natal Arya Pratinidhi Sabha was formed and Swamiji was elected its first pesident. He also presided over the Vedic Conference that was held in Ladysmith.

In 1927, Swamiji was formally admitted into the order of Sannyasis and thereafter devoted two complete years in propagation of Arya Samajic principles in South Africa on behalf of the Sarvadeshik Sabha (International Aryan League) of Delhi. During this period he wrote a number of articles in the *Sarvadeshik*, the monthly magazine of the League, concerning Arya Samaj in foreign lands.

In 1934, he was again elected president of the Natal Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (Aryan Representative Assembly) for the second time and under his able control and guidance the Semi-Centenary of the death of Rishi Dayanand was celebrated with great success. On this occasion a Hindu Conference was also convened, which was unique in the history of Arya Samaj in South Africa. This conference was also presided over by the Swami.

Owing to the differences, which subsequently arose among the workers of the Arya Samaj, Swamiji stopped taking part in its activities. He tendered his resignation from the presidentship of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Natal. This, however, did not mean that he gave up the Vedic Religion. He is still a staunch follower of Vedic doctrines, but he has severed his connection with the organisations of the Arya Samaj.

Swamiji had been working most carefully so

that communal animosity may not arise out of his work. The conditions of colonies are very peculiar and the Indian settlers cannot afford to enter into the communal quarrels. They are all regarded as Indians, without any consideration of their caste, creed or religion.

Swamiji has been a nationl worker all through his life and he adopted the principles of the Arya Samaj to meet his spiritual desire. He preached the doctrines of the Arya Samaj for the social, spiritual and cultural advancement of Indians abroad. He has his best friends among all sections of Indian community and he commands their respect and affection. The *Indian Opinion* thus wrote editorially in its issue of June 9, 1933:—

"His services to the community have been appreciated by every section and we are sure the Union Government has found Swami Bhawani Dayal to be a law-abiding and peaceful citizen. Nor is he a religious fanatic or the fanatic type of Arya Samajist who would create communal friction. He is not known to have done anything of the kind during his life time in South Africa".

In fact, all his efforts have been directed towards the spiritual and social advancement of the Hindu section and in doing so he never injured the feelings of other sections. Sir Kurma Venket Reddi, former Agent-General for

India in South Africa, Ex-Acting Governor and Interim Prime Minister of Madras in the course of a letter wrote to him:—

"I see that you are leaving South Africa on October 6, 1929. I am still very weak, and I am sorry I would be unable to see you off at the harbour. You carry my good wishes. From all accounts that I hear, I gather that you have rendered excellent service to the Hindus in this country, who, if I may say so, have forgotten all about religion. The care of the spiritual needs of the Hindus in this country has long been neglected but you have done your bit in reminding them of their duty towards their God. May God bless you and help you in your task of spiritual upliftment of the community."

As a result of some misunderstanding once Swamiji was attacked in 1925 by a Pathan, Garibullah Khan, who administered a havy slap over his right cheek and by calling him an enemy of Islam. Swamiji immediately turned his other cheek asking him to satisfy his vanity by slapping him again, but he refuted the charge of being an enemy of any religion. The Pathan did not repeat his blow perhaps because he realised his folly. He was arrested by the police and Swamiji was pressed to charge him for the criminal offence but he refused to comply with the request and forgave the Pathan unconditionally. Shortly afterwards

the Pathan greatly repented and tendered his unqualified apology for his misdeed.

Swamiji has been mainly a national worker since his boyhood and he had never slandered any prophet or religion on any occasion in his life. Although an Arya Samajist, he was called upon to preside over the great meeting of Muslims which was convened to celebrate the birth-day of Prophet Mohammed at Dehri-on-Sone in Bihar. The tribute which Swamiji paid to the Prophet was highly appreciated by the Muslims of India and abroad. Swamiji has his own way of working as an Aryan Missionary.

There is a Bharat Samaj in Lourenco Marques, Portuguese East Africa, which has been doing much useful work for the advancement of Indians. A *Veda Mandir* has been constructed recently at a cost of £4,000 containing a spacious hall, a library and a school. The foundation stone of this *Mandir* was laid by Swami Bhawani Dayal on November 4, 1937 and it was opened by His Excellency the Governor-General of of Portuguese East Africa on July 31, 1938 in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering including the Consul-Generals of Great Brition and the Union of South Africa. Swamiji presided on this auspicious occasion. The building is a fine one constructed on modern lines, and is the first Indian educational institution of its kind in the colony. Under the direct guidance of Swamiji,

the Bharat Samaj has done great service to the Indian community of Portuguese East Africa by constructing the *Veda Mandir* (Temple of Knowledge) and imparting education to the Indian children irrespective of religion, caste or class. For the last six years, Swamiji has been annually devoting one month in Portuguese East Africa for the spiritual and social progress of his people.

The *Uitenhage Hindu Mandal*, a handsome building in that small town of Cape, is also indebted to Swami Bhawani Dayal for its construction and existence.

CHAPTER X

AS A PROPAGATOR OF HINDI

THE spirit of nation is generally reflected in its literature and arts. If one wants to estimate any nation, he must study its literature and arts. There, it is possible to find what were its impulses and motives, its aims and aspirations at the particular period in which they came into existence. If the Indian settlers in the colonies wish to study India, as she was before the days of steam and electricity, and follow her ideals, they will have to go deeper in her literature, and travel over India to see its architecture and sculpture, its painting etc. In these they will find life-like picture of her, as she has been

during the last five thousand years, full of thoughts and life. The works of ancient art that still exist in almost every part of India, vividly depict her life and thought.

The question of language, therefore, is of particular importance for the Indians abroad. Whether they should continue to read and write their own language, or they should adopt the language of the country in which they have settled as their mother tongue, is a most important point. If the Indian settlers wish to preserve their individuality and nationality, their ancestral culture and traditions, they must adhere to their language. By discarding it they are bound to be denationalised. It is the language alone on which depends their future connection with India. It can be boldly said that if language is lost everything is lost. It is the language which enables the people to retain their cultural relation with Motherland.

Swami Bhawani Dayal is one of these thinkers who realised the fact. His service to the Hindi, now the *lingua franca* of India, are too numerous to be detailed here. Almost from the very beginning of his public career, the cause of Hindi was dear to him, and he continues his deep interest in it up till now. He toured several times throughout Natal with a view to propagate Hindi. He opened many societies and schools to impart and spread Hindi

education. He organised Hindi Literary Conferences in South Africa, in which hundreds of delegates from all over the country participated to further the cause of Hindi. His own journal the *Hindi* has rendered signal service to the Indians abroad.

He himself speaks generally in Hindi. He wrote most of his books in Hindi. He made its literature richer by his continuous contributions concerning Indians abroad. It was through Hindi that he made the question of overseas Indians so much popular among the people in India.

When Swami Bhawani Dayal returned to South Africa for the first time in 1912, he was distressed to observe that husband and wife, brother and sister, father and son talking in English without any regard for their own tongue. Swamiji decided to take up the cause of the national language, Hindi. He founded a Hindi Pracharini Sabha, a Hindi Night School and a Hindi Football Club in 1914 at Germiston. At the Night School, he used to teach Hindi to the Indian children duly assisted by his wife, Shrimati Jag-rani Devi and his brother, Shri Devi Dayal. He imparted free education to the children, although he was financially not well off at the time, owing to the Immigration case. The Hindi Pracharini Sabha used to meet every Sunday in which speeches were delivered to

further the cause of Hindi. Players of Football Club were requested and pressed to speak in Hindi.

Not being satisfied with his activities in a small locality, he toured the Province of Natal continually for two years and founded the Hindi Pracharini Sabha and Hindi School at Newcastle, Dannhauser, Hattigspruit, Glencoe, Burnside, Ladysmith, Weenen and Jacobs. He opened the Hindi Ashram at Clare Estate consisting of a school and library and to the latter he gave away all the books he possessed at the time, which was a fine collection of various subjects.

In the maintenance of his great aim, Swamiji spared no pains and even opposed those openly who are the great and respected leaders in India and abroad. He possesses a wonderful knowledge of the life and conditions of our countrymen overseas, and this intimate mastery of their affairs, has enabled him to pass his opinions, which are now regarded as authoritative, and weighty, by the people in India and abroad. An instance may be quoted here to throw some light that how Swamiji adheres to his principle and conviction.

At the Kimberley session of the South African Indian Congress in 1927, Swamiji differed with the then Agent-General for India, Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, for whom he has the greatest

regard. When it was proposed that the Indian Education Commission be requested to recommend the teaching of Indian vernaculars along with English in Indian schools, Sastriji opposed it with his usual force, with the result that the proposition was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Swamiji felt this mentality of the people. He dreamt of the day when complete annihilation of Indian culture from the Indian settlers would be an accomplished fact due to their short-sighted suicidal policy. He staged a walk-out from the Conference as a protest of the decision and the delegates lost no time in realising their blunder. A requisition was signed by the ninety delegates out of a total number of one hundred and twenty for reconsideration of the question. It was hotly discussed till late at night and when the votes were recorded at last, the views upheld by Sastriji were turned down and the original resolution was carried, thus endorsing the views of Swamiji.

The *Modern Review* in its issue of April 1928, thus congratulated Swamiji:—

"Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi deserves our hearty congratulations for putting up a good fiight for Indian vernaculars at the Kimberley Congress in South Africa. He has kindly sent me an account of this discussion, telling me how Mr. Sastri made the mistake of opposing the introduction of Indian vernaculars, how the

Congress first accepted the views of Mr. Sastri and how after a strong protest from Bhawani Dayalji, it ultimately passed a resolution in favour of the introduction of vernaculars. As I have unfortunately missed that speech of Mr. Sastri, I do not know on what grounds he opposed the inclusion of the vernaculars. Bhawani Dayalij writes in his letter:—'Vernacular education can be included in the curriculum of the Government and Government Aided Indian Schools of Natal and also with great success in the curriculum of the College which Mr. Sastri proposes to build for the training of teachers and for higher education. The question of providing teachers in the vernaculars will not be difficult. At the Training College vernaculars can be taught to the teachers, who in turn can impart this education to the pupils whom they teach or will have to teach. For the present, where it would be impossible to employ special teachers for the vernaculars, a few travelling teachers could be employed with advantage. Moreover, the existing up-to-date vernacular schools should be supported by Government grants. This is a question of vital importance to the Indians, and it therefore behoves the leaders of public opinion in this country, and in India to raise their voice in an unmistakable manner for the defence of Indian languages, civilisation and nationality. The Natal Provincial Government has already

appointed an Education Commission to go into the pros and cons of Indian education in Natal. The Indian Government also was kind enough to send two educational experts in the persons of Mr. Kailas Prasad Kitchlew and Miss Gordon. It is the duty of the Indian community and the Congress (*vide* resolution Kimberley Conference) to put up a strong fight before the Commission for the inclusion of vernacular education in the Indian schools of Natal.' We must strongly support Swami Bhawani Dayal in the fight for the recognition of Indian vernaculars. It is noteworthy that Mr. Sastri has now bowed to the sentiments of the Indian public in South Africa and we are confident that he will do everything to help the cause of Indian vernaculars."

It is due to Swamiji's influence that the South African Indian Congress has embodied in its constitution Hindi as an official language along with English and Afrikaan. His enthusiasm, love and affection for Hindi can be judged from the fact that it has crossed the boundaries of South Africa and gone far away to other colonies as well. He inspired all his admirers and friends by his advise and action not to ignore or forget this vital question of national importance.

He approached Shrimati Sarojini Devi, first Indian lady president of the Indian National Congress, to deliver her presidential address, first in Hindi at the Cawnpore session. The practice

has become so usual that all the presidential addresses of this great organisation are now generally delivered in Hindi.

It is no exaggeration to say that Swamiji's services to Hindi will go down in history and it would be written in golden letters. The Hindi world has recognised his services and honoured him by electing to preside over the All-India Hindi Editors' Conference and the tenth session of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Literary Conference.

CHAPTER XI

AS AN ADVOCATE OF REPATRIATES

"NO more faithful worker is to be found among those Indians", declared the *Natal Witness* in its issue of December 7, 1931, "who are labouring in the cause of their compatriots than Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi. In his valuable report, he will have proved beyond doubt the suffering and misery that is attached to the working of the Assisted Emigration Scheme, which forms part of the Capetown Agreement. In a recent publication received by the last mail from India, the Swami has again contributed valuable information on the Indian question. The present volume is a collection of newspaper comments on his report, and is indicative of the public opinion the report has aroused in India on the hardships of the repatri-

ated Indians."

It is very difficult to pick up any particular work and describe it as the biggest in the life of a man, who has distinguished himself in so many branches of human action. Swami Bhawani Dayal has shone in every field of activity, he cared to engage in as a humble worker. Most of his contributions to the cause of Indians abroad are of a permanent nature. The question of repatriation has now become matter of the past, but it was of great importance only a decade or two ago, when Swamiji had decided to oppose it with all his power in order to save thousands of unfortunate brethren from suffering and misery. He saw, with his own vision, in the slums of Madras and Matiaburz of Calcutta, the hardships envisaged by the Indian repatriates. Matiaburz proved to be much worse than what he had imagined. Its dirty lanes and filthy pools, combined with its smoky atmosphere, make it an area absolutely unfit for human habitation. It is to be noted that Matiaburz has proved a death trap to hundreds of repatriates and it is really disgraceful that such terrible slum areas should be allowed to exist and breed diseases.

The call of humanity has touched Swamiji's heart and he has emerged into this field of activity to save his unfortunate countrymen. Repatriation is nothing but a cruel scheme to

22

oust the Indians from the holy lands of the colonies and dominions. In launching the 1927 scheme of assisted emigration, the Union Government had expected to repatriate about fifty to eighty thousand Indians, thus getting rid of the Indian population. I droop my head with shame, when I remember how the repatriates were treated on their return to home from the colonies. They were considered as social lepers, even their own kith and kin refused to take them back in their fold, adding insult to the injury.

Swami Bhawani Dayal was against the scheme of repatriation from its very inception. After observing the miserable conditions of repatriates at Matiaburz in 1919, he became a great opponent of this scheme. On his return to South Africa, soon after the inauguration of repatriation scheme as recommended by the Asiatic Inquiry Commission in 1920, he started his campaign in opposition of the scheme with his usual capacity.

Swamiji only discontinued his opposition during the year 1928-29 in response to the personal appeal made by Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, who impressed on him that at a time when the Capetown Agreement was being given a trial, his opposition to the scheme was likely to cause a set-back in his mission.

But Swamiji was not able to witness any

longer the misery of his people repatriated under the Capetown Agreement. He himself came to India in 1929 and conducted an independent inquiry into the conditions of returned emigrants. I have already written in a previous chapter about his activities, which resulted in elimination of the clause containing repatriation from the Capetown Agreement.

During the Second Round Table Conference in Cape Town between the representatives of the Government of India and the Union of South Africa, Swamiji was awfully busy in India arousing the public opinion to oppose the repatriation. He interviewed Mahatma Gandhi, only a day after his arrival from London in 1931, and cabled his views to the South African Indian Congress urging for discontinuance of further repatriation. He also met Sir Mohamed Shafi, Acting Member for the Government of India, in New Delhi and urged him to approach the Indian delegation to act in accordance with the public opinion that had been created in India and abroad on the question of repatriation.

The repatriation has not yet stopped altogether and still our countrymen are returning from the colonies. But Swamiji's agitation has had its effect and the number decreased to a great extent.

The Government of India also recognised his great service to the repatriates and honoured

him by inviting to perform the opening ceremony of the Natal House in Madras. This home was sanctioned by the Government of India and was located at Mylapore in Madras and was intended to provide a home for decrepits and cripples among the repatriates who has no relations in India.

CHAPTER XII

AS A SINCERE FRIEND

"I am acquainted with Swami Bhawani Dayal for many years," remarked Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi in the *Vishal Bharat* of March 1932, "but I have never come in so close contact with him as on this occasion and I can gladly state that this intimate relation has magnified my respect for him. During these two years and a half, he spent a year as a guest of His Majesty in the Hazaribagh gaol and the rest of time he devoted in the services of Indians abroad. The amount of work that he did in a year and half, would have been not accomplished by us in five years. I was agitating for the last nine years for an inquiry into the conditions of returned emigrants, but it had not materialised and only remained as a matter for the press. Bhawani Dayalji ably completed the work within a few months. There is a reason. Bhawani Daylji knows himself how

to work and above all he possesses a genius of extracting work from others."

Swamiji paid a number of visits to India, evidently in pursuance of the wishes of the community. He did the work for which he was entrusted with with great ability and efficiency. During these visits, he has strengthened the bond of love and affection with his friends and admirers and also made many fresh acquaintances. This quality of his has made him popular among the people of every shade of opinion, and therefore his mission used to receive attention and sympathy of the entire Indian people irrespective of party, creed or class consideration.

It appears that this fact has been realised by the Indian community in South Africa. They found in him their best spokesman in India. It is also an admitted fact, as the readers would observe from the remarks of Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi quoted above, that the work Swamiji had been able to do alone, could not be done even by several people and within such a short period of time with marked succeess.

Swamiji has a large number of friends in India. He enjoys their confidence and affection. If he wishes anything to be widely known in India, it can be done in the shortest possible time even without his presence here. It can be

said, without hesitation, that no other Colonial-Born Indian has more following and influence in India than Swami Bhawani Dayal.

Swamiji's success is entirely dependent on his charming personality. He has a wonderful sense of respecting and understanding the feelings of others, who come in contact with him. This genius has made him a successful person in public life. He creates friendships and cultivates them to a larger extent. With him the link of friendship increases gradually, instead of dwindling away as is generally the case.

Swamiji has also been acting as a distinguished Agent in the matters connected with Indians abroad. The Indian students, scholars and institutions write to him continuously to obtain information relating to the life and conditions of Indians in the foreign lands. Indian journalists always approach him for his contributions for their papers. Any one, who cares to write to him, is sure to receive a reply from him to his satisfaction. He has guided many young men who were seeking adventure in the colonies. He has cleared much of the confusion and misunderstanding that existed in India about overseas Indians.

As a patron of the Indian Colonial Association, Ajitmal (Etawah) U. P. India, Swamiji has been guiding its workers in their activities in the

cause of Indians abroad for the last several years. This Association has organised Indians Overseas Conferences and has done a good deal of propaganda to further the cause.

We have always found Swami Bhawani Dayal as a sincere friend, who loves the people and is loved by the people.

CHAPTER XIII

AS A SOUTH AFRICAN

SWAMI Bhawani Dayal is an Indian as well as a South African. He loves South Africa next to India. It is natural. He was born and brought up there, and many valuable years of his life he spent there. South Africa was also a field of his public activities. He was declared by Sir G. S. Bajpai in the Indian Legislative Assembly even as a South African national.

He lives at Jacobs near Durban in a house known as *Bhawani-Bhawan* named after him by his sons, Shri Ramdutt and Shri Brahmadutt. He has two loyal sons, who are devotedly looking after him. They are hard-working youngmen and keep Swamiji entirely free from financial worry. They are giving all the possible help to Swamiji to carry on his public work.

His eldest son, Shri Ramdutt is married to Shrimati Prakashwati, an educated and cultured

lady. They have three sons, Narendrakumar, Mahendrakumar and Ravindrakumar. His youngest son, Shri Brahmadutt is a good writer. He has written many short-stories in Hindi and English, which have been appreciated in India and abroad. He has just completed a Hindi novel entitled *Pravasi Prapanch*, which will be published soon.

His nephew, Shri Krishnadutt is married to Shrimati Padmawati and has two sons, Rajendrakumar and Surendrakumar. His niece, Shrimati Gayatri Devi is now happily living with her husband, Shri Maganlal. Swamiji has a sister also, Shrimati Rajdevi who lives in Durban along with her son, Shri Jagannath Kunjbihari Singh and her daughter-in-law, Shrimati Jashmati Devi. His youngest brother, Shri Devi Dayal is now in India.

Swamiji is addicted to two small vices, tea and tobacco. To proceed with his work smoothly and efficiently, he must have tea and tobacco, without which he finds himself entirely helpless, and he cannot continue his work with his usual vigour and enthusiasm.

When Swamiji begins to write, he goes on writing for weeks and months, and the same thing happens when he commences reading. But when he is engaged in public work, none of them are possible. I do not mean to say that he cannot manage several things at one time.

In fact he can, but they cannot be as good as he wishes them to be. He can do one thing at a time in the best possible manner. This is the secret of his success.

Swamiji is only a man of forty-seven, yet he appears old and almost exhausted. It is the result of his over-work and over-exertion. Since his return to South Africa in 1936, after a short visit to India, he is not keeping good health. It was his intention to work silently in his personal library, which consists of many valuable and rare volumes and also vast material concerning overseas Indians. But before he could settle down to commence his work after a serious illness, he was called away by the people to serve them as the President of the Natal Indian Congress.

CHAPTER XIV

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

I have known Swami Bhawani Dayal for the last several years and had the opportunity of corresponding with him in the capacity of General-Secretary of the Indian Colonial Association of which he is the Patron. But I have had no occasion of personal meeting. It was my desire to see the personage who has done so much work in the cause of Indians abroad.

During the Easter Holidays in 1936, I was at Allahabad. At that time Allahabad temporarily had become a place of national importance, owing to the fact that almost all the eminent leaders of India were present there to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee.

The attention of the whole of India was focussed at *Anand Bhawan* to hear the verdict of the nation. *Anand Bhawan* became a place of pilgrimage because of the presence of Mahatma Gandhi and other All-India leaders. When Allahabad was so much thrilled with the gathering of the Indian leaders, fortunately I was also there.

It was on the fourth of April that year that I was taking rest after my lunch, when I dozed off, trailing away in a dream. Suddenly, I was disturbed, for I heard a knock at my door. I opened it and was surprised to find a post-man standing outside with a telegram for me. As I read it, my heart began to throb with joy. The telegram was from Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi informing me about his arrival at Allahabad the next day.

It was the culmination of my joy the next morning when I went to the station and met him for the first time.

Swamiji was my guest for a few days at Allahabad. Later, we went together to attend

the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, where we stayed at the same place as the guests of Shri Shanti Prasad. During this period I got the chance of knowing Swamiji more intimately, and I studied him well.

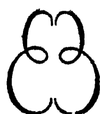
I was struck by his personality in a variety of ways. I found that he has a passion for the cause and has been working with almost all his zeal. At Allahabad and Lucknow, I found him thinking, day and night, for ways and means, which may further the cause. He spared no time to bring the question to the forefront during his short stay at Allahabad and Lucknow. He met the Congressites as well as the liberals, and impressed upon them the necessity of evincing greater interest in the cause and displayed remarkable tact to ensure success of his mission.

My impression is that of all the colonial delegations or representatives who have come to India from time to time, to mobilize public opinion in favour of this or that problem, Swamiji alone achieved the wonderful success. I am not casting any reflection on others. They have also attained a fairly good measure of succes, but I have no hesitation in saying that Swamiji has done more propaganda work in a comparatively lesser time than any colonial delegation.

It is largely due to the fact that he has lived in India for so many years, and paid repeated visits to India, while staying in South Africa at

short intervals. He knows almost all the public leaders, eminent journalists and the Government officials from whom he can derive the assistance in the success of his mission. Therefore, whenever he comes to India his mission becomes known to a great number of people and naturally they begin to take interest in the cause he holds so dear to his heart.

My close association with Swami Bhawani Dayal did not give me any occasion to doubt about his resourcefulness, sincerity and determination, but resulted in greater respect for him and more interest in his noble cause. I found in Swamiji a tireless and devoted worker, in the cause of overseas Indians whose service is the sole object of his existence, with all the qualities necessary for a leader to enable him to work sincerely and successfully as a guide, friend and philosopher.



PART III

APPENDIX I

THE BOOKS

Swami Bhawani Dayal is the author of the following books:—

(1) दक्षिण अफ्रीका के सत्याग्रह का इतिहास
History of Passive Resistance of South Africa

(2) दक्षिण अफ्रीका के मेरे अनुभव
My Experiences of South Africa

(3) हमारी कारावास कहानी
Story of My Prison-life.

(4) महात्मा गांधी का जीवन-चरित्र
Biography of Mahatma Gandhi.

(5) ट्रांसवाल में भारतवासी
Indians in Transvaal.

(6) नेटाली हिन्दू
Natalian Hindu.

(7) वैदिक धर्म और आर्य सभ्यता
Vedic Religion and Aryan Culture.

(8) शिक्षित और किसान
Educator and Cultivator.

(9) वैदिक प्रार्थना
The Vedic Prayer.

And many other booklets in English and Hindi, including the "*Report on the Emigrants repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa*" and "*Public Opinion on the Assisted Emigration Scheme under Indo-South African Agreement.*"

APPENDIX II

THE STATEMENT

The following statement was submitted to the Magistrate by Swami Bhawani Dayal, when he was charged under Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code at Arrah in 1930:—

"I am innocent before my God, before my country and before my nation. It is possible that the British Court may adjudge me guilty and convict me, but when a *Satyagrahi* is sentenced to imprisonment, he thinks himself blessed and his life successful, and he feels that *Satyagrah* is winning its way through. All my life, I have been serving the Indian settlers abroad. I am myself a South African-born. I wrote books about the Indian settlers, conducted papers and delivered speeches for their service. I was a member of the South African Indian Deputation that visited India in 1925 in connection with the Anti-Asiatic Bill. For more than ten years, I have been serving the Indian settlers as a Vice-President of the Natal Indian Congress. This time also I came to India to make an enquiry into the condition of the South African repatriates who have returned to India under the Cape Town Agreement. I have toured about four thousand miles, and have seen their condition with my own eyes and have published an interim report of my enquiry.

"It was my desire to devote my life exclusively in the service of Indians abroad, but with the increase of experience and knowledge my faith grew stronger and resolute that so long as India will remain under

British subjection, all endeavours for the uplift of the Indians abroad would prove futile. For instance, we have accepted the European standard in South Africa but still we are looked down upon as untouchables because we are Indians. We have no political franchise there. We cannot travel together with a European. We have separate reserved compartments in the train. There are separate counters for us at the railway station and the post office to purchase tickets and stamps respectively. Even great Indians like Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Mohamed Habibullah, Shrimati Sarojini Devi and the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri would be looked upon either as coolies or the *Sardar* of coolies. You are an Indian Magistrate but if you go to South Africa, the European Hotels will shut their doors against you The treatment accorded to you will be the same as that accorded to an Indian labourer. It is not ability that is honoured there, but it is the colour of the skin that carries weight. The beauty is that South Africa is within the British Empire.

"India is being disgraced and dishonoured in Kenya for years. Kenya is a Crown Colony but its high-lands are specially reserved for the Europeans. So long as Tanganyika was in the possession of the Germans, the Indians were quite happy there; but ever since it passed into the British mandate, they are undergoing unlimited sufferings. The condition of Indians in Uganda, too, is not satisfactory. The East African Indians are agitating against communal franchise. A deputation of their's had recently come to India, and on their behalf Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A. had gone to England.

"A farce of communal representation has been acted in Fiji and all three Indian members have walked out from the Council. Fiji is also a Crown Colony but Indians have no place of honour there. The entry of Indians in Australia, Canada and New Zealand is entirely porhibited. No regard has been paid to them even in Demerara, Trinidad and Jamaica. This is the condition of Indians in the British Empire. On the contrary, Indians have obtained equal right in the Portuguese and French colonies. I have been long since thinking as to how and why the Indians like British domination when they are being so much degraded and dishonoured under this Empire.

"Even after my election to the presidentship of Shahabad District Congress Committee, and in view of the resolution passed by the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress declaring complete independence and the severance of British connection, I was inclined to co-operate with the Government in the matters of Indians abroad, but an event that took place about two months ago has completely changed my mind, and the faith that I had in the British Empire has entirely vanished. The matter of fact is that the *Sutlej* arrived at Calcutta with 900 Indian repatriates from the West Indies. During its voyage of 48 days 44 repatriates died on board. I went to the ship and held an enqiry, and was shocked to see the miserable condition of the Indian repatriates. The very day I wired to Sir Mohammad Habibullah, Member-in-charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands for the Government of India, that an immediate enquiry should be initiated in the matter.

He replied me telling that the desirability of the appointment of an enquiry committee was receiving his attention. Next day I met Lt. Col. White, Protector of Emigrants. This officer, who ought to have attentively heard the complaint and should have called upon the Ship Companies to explain, had begun to plead on their behalf. I was much pained to mark his tendency in the matter. Then, a day before the departure of the *Sutlej* for Fiji, I received intimation from the Government of Bengal that in persuance of the suggestion of the Government of India, an Enquiry Committee has been appointed to investigate into the death of 44 Indian repatriates on board the *Sutlej* and that I have been nominated a member of the committee, along with the Magistrate of 24-Parganas and Lt. Col. White, and that the enquiry would take place after four days. I became much disappointed and helpless owing to the fact that the next day the *Sutlej* was to sail for Fiji and some of the returned emigrants whom I had detained for giving evidence had gone away. Under the circumstances, I wrote a long letter to the Government of India and refused to serve on the committee.

"The Government of India had sent them as the indentured labourers to the colonies, but no help is rendered to them on their return to India. Thousands of them are lying about here and there like unclaimed properties. Hundreds of them are leading a life of misery and shame at Matiaburz. After my experience of last two decades, I have come to the conclusion that as long as India was under the British Empire, the Indians either at home or abroad cannot have a

place of honour.

"I, therefore, made firm determination to join the battle for India's freedom. I believe that India can attain her independence by means of non-violent *Satyagrah.* I have made an extensive tour of the District and carried wide propaganda among the people against British Imperialism, and I am sure that my incarceration would not stop the work. I am an enemy of Imperialism. If India becomes free and wants to conquer England, I shall be the first man to raise my voice against my country. I do not like the idea of any country ruling over another by means of force. I am a responsible man and I fully realise my responsibility. I have done the same thing that an Englishman would do, if England lost her liberty. I am glad that the humble service rendered by me to my Motherland has been acknowledged and therefore to-day, I stand before you as a prisoner of war.

"I do not wish to say anything in my defence because I do not recognize the British Raj in India. I, therefore, look upon it as an insult to enter into the defence in a British Court of justice. I do not deem it proper to take any part in any proceedings of this court. I would only pray to God that the British Imperialism which is a menace to the world should perish and Indians must attain *Swaraj* which is their birth-right."

APPENDIX III

THE VEDIC CONFERENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

(From the *Hindi* of October 16, 1925)

Sunday, the 4th instant, was a red letter day in the annals of the Indian community of South Africa. The Vedic Conference was held at Ladysmith, when Pandit Bhawani Dayal presided. The *pandal* which was specially erected for the occasion was very liberally and artistically decorated with flowers, buntings and photographs of leading patriots and religious leaders of India. Provision was made in this great *pandal* for thousands of people. The delegates and visitors spoke very highly of the arrangement. The platform was very nicely decorated and three large life-like photographs of Rishi Dayanand, Mahatma Gandhi and Lokmanya Tilak were placed in a prominent position. A special rostrum was erected for the speakers. Before reaching the *pandal* from the station, one must also have observed the beautiful arch. Early in the morning, a *Havan* ceremony was performed and the Conference commenced punctually at 10 a. m. The chairman of the Reception Committee, Pandit Ram-sunder Pathak delivered his speech welcoming the delegates and visitors. After which Pandit Bhawani Dayal was proposed to preside over the Conference and was carried unanimously amidst deafening cheers. The chairman of the Reception Committee garlanded the President. Mr. Vithalbhai Lalabhai then presented the President with an illuminated address on behalf of the Reception Committee and the local Arya Samaj. The President thanked them for their kind address.

The President, Pandit Bhawani Dayal who is a vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress and as the Asiatic Bill is before the Parliament, has very little time to spare for any other work, hence he had not given sufficient time to prepare his speech or have it written out. He rose amidst great cheers and there must have been by now over a thousand people present. His speech briefly put, may be summed up as a godsend to those who were present. It was not only educative and instructive but of an inspiring character. He, at the very commencement, thanked them all for electing him to that high position of which he felt, he was not worthy, but he believed that he was elected because of being a humble worker in the cause of the Vedic religion in this part of the world. He said that the world to-day acknowledges that the Vedas are the oldest books in existence and therefore the Vedic Religion is the religion which should be respected, followed and maintained. He declared that the Hindu-world ought to be grateful to Rishi Dayanand for opening the eyes of all lovers of Truth and Knowledge. He further said that had it not been for the great persons visiting Africa from India, we might still be in darkness. He referred to the late Hon. Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi, Shrimati Sarojini Devi, Sadhu Andrews, Bhai Parmanand, Swami Shankeranand, Pandit Ishwar Dutt and others. He pointed out that in other colonies like Trinidad, Demerara and Jamaica, no leaders had gone either political or religious, hence the people there fell into the clutches of other denominations and forgot their own. He very ably drove home how, it was essential

for the people to be united, particularly Hindus in this country so that they may become a factor to be reckoned with. It was not only important for them to be united politically, but also socially and religiously. He pointed out the present drawbacks of the Samajists and Sanatanists and exhorted them to give up their faults and lead a pure life like the *Rishes* of the yore. He passed some homely truths about the degeneration of our youths who are led away by bad companies and that it was the duty of the elders to guide them on the right lines. He regretted at the unwisdom of the Hindus in not sending their girls to schools. He hoped that this assembly will take heed of the question and not neglect the education of their children particularly of the girls who would be the mothers of the next generation. He strongly emphasised the fact of learning Hindi, one's own mother tongue, because language plays a very important part in one's development. He deplored that there was no Vedic literature obtainable in South Africa in the Tamil language but he hoped that some thing would be done to meet the wishes of the Tamil people. Eventually, he laid very strong emphasis on the unity of Samajists and Sanatanists and said that they are the two eyes of Hinduism; they are the two streams of the same river, they are the two fruits of the same tree, they are the worshippers of the same Indian civilisation and they are the followers of the same great Vedic religion Hence it is their fundamental duty to join hands and work for the same great cause.

He spoke fcr over an honr and he carried the audience with him in all his observations. In conclu-

sion, he thanked Babu Raghunath Singh, Shri Mahavir Shivnandan and other workers for the efficient manner in which they had made all arrangements for the Conference.

APPENDIX IV

FIRST INDIANS OVERSEAS CONFERENCE.

(From the *Modern Review* of May, 1930)

Summary of Swami Bhawani Dayal's presidential speech at the first Indians Overseas Conference held at Brindaban (Muttra) during the Easter holidays:—

Indians Overseas Conference was the fiirst of its kind in India. Though it was wellnigh hundred years since when Indian emigration began—it was in 1834 that Indians were first sent to the colonies as indentured labourers—yet no attempt had ever been made here in India to hold a conference to discuss the problems of Indians abroad. The organisers of the Silver Jubilee of the Gurukul-Brindaban deserved their thanks for having given them that opportunity.

The speech contained grateful references to the secred memory of Justice Ranade, who was the first Indian leader to recognise the importance of the problems of Greater India, and Mr. Gokhale, Rev. Doke, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Kaka Rustomjee, and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, who had, in their lives, done immense service to the cause of Indians abroad. The name of those who gave up their lives in the *Satyagrah* movement in South Africa were mentioned and an appreciative reference was made about the services of those by whose efforts the indenture system was

abolished.

The speech was divided in half a dozen parts:—the religious condition of Indians abroad, educational facilities for colonial children, the social, the economic and the political condition, returned emigrants and the future of Indians overseas.

The first part of the speech referred mainly to the condition of Hindus, who have settled abroad and the work that has been done for them by the Arya Samajists. Swami Bhawani Dayal admired the latter but requested them to change the methods of their propaganda work. He was definitely against the irritating criticism of other faiths and advised the All-India Aryan League to take up the work of foreign propaganda in their hands. Only those who were authorised by the Sarvadeshik Sabha should be helped by the Colonial Hindus to preach among them.

The speech contained a brief survey of the condition of Indian education in Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, Suriname, Fiji Islands and South Africa. It urged upon Indian teachers the necessity of emigration to the colonies with the purpose of devoting themselves wholly and solely to the cause of Indian education. It emphasised the importance of Indian vernaculars, for through these vernaculars alone could they preserve their culture and individuality.

Educational institutions in India were requested to give special facilities to colonial students. The Gurukul-Brindaban, that had been doing something in that direction, deserved their thanks. It was a teacher of the Gurukul who had gone abroad to Fiji Islands for educational work among Fiji Indians and who

had started a movement among them to send their children to India. That was a step in the right direction and deserved their help and sympathy. In the field of education, among colonial children, there ought to be the fullest possible co-operation between followers of different faiths.

Indians abroad were evolving a new social order, entirely different from that prevailing at home in India. Interdining was very common and even intermarriages between Hindus, Mohamedans and Christians were not considered objectionable. That was the one good that came out of the evil of the indenture system. The caste system had received a fatal blow in the colonies and nothing remained of that hated thing known here as untouchability. The Gujeratis of South and East Africa had, however, clung to their old customs, as they had been able to maintain their social connections with their caste people at home. A good number of these returned to the motherland after having amassed some wealth.

Leaving out the professional people like doctors and barristers, Indians Overseas could be divided among three classes—traders, agriculturists and labourers. The Indian traders were to be found all over the world, some of them had prospered wonderfully well and were in no way inferior to white traders of any colony. Those agriculturists who possessed enough of land were quite well-to-do, but the vast majority of the labourers were living from hand to mouth. Skilled Indian labourers had excited the jealousy of the white men and in most of the colonies these whites were trying their utmost to get rid of their brown

competitors by all means, fair or foul. The time had come when the Indian labourers must organise themselves by establishing trade unions in all the colonies where they had gone in large numbers.

Political conditions in Greater India differed to a certain extent in different colonies. In Mauritius, they had succeeded in returning two members to the Legislative Council on common franchise. There were two Indian members in the Trinidad Legislative Council. Ceylon had one and the Federal Council of Malaya one Indian member. Their people in Kenya were fighting for a common franchise and so were their compatriots in Fiji. Mr. Vishnu Deo., Mr. Parmanand Singh and Mr. Ramchandra deserved their hearty congratulations, for having resigned their membership of the Fiji Legislative Council on the franchise issue. The condition in South Africa was perhaps the worst of all. Their people in Natal were deprived of the vote in 1896 and even the municipal franchise had now been taken away from their hands. There were several Indian-owned papers in the colonies and they were trying to educate public opinion in political matters.

The Indian National Congress had been trying to help the cause of Indians overseas, as far as possible, but it had not been able to place the work for Indians abroad on an organised basis. The work for the liberation of India and the creation of Greater India should be done simultaneously.

One thing they had to be warned against and that was the evil of communalism which had unfortunately been making its way in the colonies during recent

years. For example, the Muslim League of Fiji passed a resolution demanding separate seat for the Indian Mohamedans in those Islands. That mentality of communalism will, if allowed to develop unchecked, prove fatal to their cause. He had one request to make to religious missionaries going abroad and that was that they should not meddle in political affairs,

The returned emigrants suffered considerably in India. A number of them were treated as outcaste and were not allowed to take part in social functions. Some of these left their villages and emigrated to such unhealthy places as Matiaburz of Calcutta where they had been waiting and waiting in vain for some free steamers to take them back to the colonies. He would strongly advise the returning emigrants not to come to India for permanent settlement. They might come here to see the motherland and their relatives for a short period of time, but it was absolutely inadvisable to leave the colonies for good.

Swami Bhawani Dayal drew a bright picture of the future of Indians abroad who number about twenty lakhs and who had made remarkable progress in several directions. Socially they were going ahead, their economic condition was improving and an appreciable number of them were taking intelligent part in political matters. There were to be found among them able councillors, millionaire merchants, enterprising journalists, efficient doctors and clever barristers. Indians living abroad, were the ambassadors of India and the world would judge their country through these representatives of theirs. Every effort should therefore be made to make them their worthy representatives, so

that they might keep the flag of Indian culture flying in Greater India.

The Servants of India Society that had deputed its president Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and its members Messrs Kunzru, Rao, Vaze and Tiwari deserved their heartiest thanks in the cause of Indians abroad. The problems of overseas Indians had nothing to do with party politics in India and they must co-operate among themselves for that sacred cause. Any differences due to political complexions of the workers would prove fatal to their cause. Mr. Polak had been doing very useful work for them in England. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay had been doing its work in its own way, though there was considerable room for improvement in its method of work. They ought to be specially grateful to the *Hindu* of Madras, the *Leader* of Allahabad, the *Daily Mail* and *Chronicle* of Bombay and the *Modern Review* and the *Vishal Bharat* of Calcutta for giving publicity to their cause from time to time.

Mahatma Gandhi was fighting for the freedom of the Motherland, Indians overseas could very well take pride in the fact that it was among them that the Mahatma spent twenty-one years of his eventful life and that the weapon of *Satyagrah* was first tried in Greater India. But along with that legitimate pride, the Indian overseas had a duty to perform. The fates of India and Greater India were bound together and they could not be separated. Indians abroad must try their utmost to help the movement for freedom at home in every possible way.

APPENDIX V

ALL-INDIA HINDI EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

(From the *Searchlight* of June 6, 1931)

The following are extracts from a free translation of the presidential address delivered by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi at the All-India Hindi Editors' Conference held in the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University on May 28, 1931:—

Looking before me to this assemblage of Hindi journalists, I cannot but remember our immortal martyr, Pandit Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi who, up to the last hour of life strenuously worked for the unfoldment and improvement of Hindi journalistic art. Along with him, I remember Lala Bhagwandeenji and as well as Sjt. Shrikrishna Baldevji Varma. If these gentlemen were with us to-day, our work must have been considerably simplified, but they are away from us and that for ever; however much we may deplore it, it is an undeniable fact. May God grant peace to their souls.

The presidents of the earlier sessions of this conference have said much about the utility of it, hence I need not waste your time by repeating those things over again. But this I consider necessary to remind you. that the future of an institution depends entirely on the soundness and permanence of the ideal before it. He who has got an ideal never strays, he who has got a goal to reach, does reach it. Therefore, on the occasion of this conference, it is our duty to come for once out of the limitations and

services of our daily routine and think and ascertain as to what is our ideal and to find out whether we are advancing towards our goal. I for one think—and I would request you also to consider it calmly—that the position of a journalist in fact is that of the great Indian teacher of the pre-historic age, Vyasa. I believe in classification of society in four divisions चातुर्वर्ण on the basis of *Karma* (action). Those who take upon themselves the task of educating the people by writing for books and newspapers are, according to me, real Brahmans. The duty of a journalist is, in reality, the same as is prescribed for the God-knowing Brahmans. No journalist ought to forget this. To forget this, is, according to me, to fall from the lofty position of the journalist. My impression is that those who are imbued with the spirit of Indian culture and civilisation must be well aware of the pros and cons of this lofty idealism and when they take up the profession of journalism, they do so with no other motive, but the complete realisation of it. But at times circumstances carry them astray from this path. That such circumstances are often terrible is an undeniable fact. It is said that the present is the age of the Vaisyas and therefore Brahmanical functions as a matter of course occupy a subordinate position in the said scheme. It is also said that commercialisation of the sacred function of teaching is fast proceeding ahead. It may be true, but it must be admitted that nothing can be more derogatory to education than for it to climb down from its lofty height to the dirty mud of profiteering business. Indeed when imparting popular education becomes a source of money-making,

then it becomes unworthy of being called by its proper name. It may not be admitted by western journalists, but I am sure that Indian journalists cannot think otherwise about this profession and to those Indians who, imbibed with the spirit of serving the State and the country join the profession of journalism. I must say—and I believe they will agree with me—that education is not a matter of trade—it ought not be so, of course, though material circumstances are an undeniable reality and must be properly taken into account.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, is not prepared to do so. For, he has overcome the very, desire to earn money which generally impels men to reduce education to an object of trade. But I shall not ask you to do the same and exclude advertisements from newspapers, for I know that it is not for everyone to be Mahatma. Circumstances are not things to be ignored and every one has to take the circumstances around him as the starting point. If we do not accept advertisements for our papers, then we cannot sell them at a low price nor can we realise the vast amount of money required to be invested in newspaper business. This is the situation as it is. We have therefore to accept advertisements—in fact, this is why we have been accepting them at present But we should always see to it that in publishing advertisements we may not be lured into injuring the cause of the country.

Another factor that drags down education to the level of an article of trade is competition. Competition by itself has nothing bad about it, provided it does not lead to the subversion of all noble principles. In

devising fresh methods for imparting popular education, competition is bound to arise; such competition does not affect the sacred nature of journalism as a Brahmanical profession; in fact, it furthers the sacred cause of education. But if impelled by the sole desire of increasing the circulation of the paper, journalists begin to adopt objectionable methods, then it can rightly be said about such a person in the words of Mahatma Tolstoy that "he is not in his senses." One of such objectionable methods is sensation-mongering—to circulate sensational news containing half-truths and often with no element of truth in them. What is this ? No member of any civilised society would talk irresponsibly like this and yet some newspaper editors unhasitatingly stoop to this. But this is not the only way to bring the sacred cause of education into disrepute. Sometimes some papers with a view to increasing their circulation adopt the still more objectionable method of villifying respectable persons in the dirtiest of language to cater to the people with bad taste. There is still another method. Sometimes, newspapers take to the threatening or flattering particular personages, by means of writings and cartoons, and at time even false views are attributed to respectable persons with a view to discredit them. One cannot too strongly condemn such dirty methods. Bid for popularity in such forms is dangerous, and such competition amounts to direct repudiation of all the sacred attributes of journalism. No respectable journalist who has the education of the people at his heart should stoop to mean methods even for making his paper more popular. Therefore, I appeal to all

journalists, old and new, not to lose sight of the magnificent idealism before them and not to swerve from the right and straight path; no matter if for so doing he remains poor for ever. He, whose sole objective is to make money need not adopt the profession of journalism, there are other professions too.

Those journalists who make money in the sacred name of education and altogether forget their mission are looked down upon in society and in truth deserve this censure.

To the Hindi journalists I should say: Let their records be so clean, their achievement so glorious that they, instead of adopting the western method of trading on education, may set before them the lofty Indian ideal of disinterested service; let them ennoble themselves more and more—I believe nothing is impossible for them to achieve.

In taking into consideration circumstances, one cannot ignore the pecuniary condition of those who adopt the profession of journalism. In many cases, the journalists live in terrible poverty. Those who, for all the twenty-four hours in a day think of nothing else than the good of the people, have to live almost face to face with starvation. No other profession carries greater responsibility with so small remuneration. Even in this very country in the English-owned English Newspapers, the editors sometimes get from two to three thousand rupees a month and yet they have not to work even a tenth part of what a poor editor of a Hindi paper has to perform That bread has first to be provided for is a maxim well observed

in all trades, except the trade of journalism and the result is that an honest journalist who cannot persuade himself to trade on education has to remain poor all through his life and under the crushing burden of poverty and consequent worries ignominously fails to rise to the fullest possible height. Therefore. I feel that so long as the pecuniary condition of a journalist is not improved enough, to make him free of financial worries, not even a start can be given to setting up ideal newspaper editing before the world. In this Conference, therefore, we have to consider the following three problems and devise the solutions thereof:—

(I) To keep the lofty id alism of a journalist before every member of the Hindi journalistic profession.

(II) To so adjust the relation of trade and popular education that trade may be the hand-maid of education, instead of education being dependent on trade.

(III) To improve the financial position of journalists.

I hope these problems will receive your best consideration.

APPENDIX VI

BIHAR PROVINCIAL HINDI LITERARY CONFERENCE

(From the *Searchlight* of December 19, 1931)

The tenth session of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was held at Baidyanath Dham (Deoghar) on December 12, 1931. Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi presided. The following is a running translation, in English, of important extracts from his presidential address in Hindi:—

It is admitted on all hands that language is the very soul of a nation. Speaking of the glories of language, Mr. Max Nordean rightly says in his book, "*Paradoxes*": – "It is by language that he becomes the adoptive child and heir of all the thinkers and poets, the teachers and leaders of the people; it is by language that he comes under the influence of that universal power of suggestion, which is exercised by the literature and history of a people on all who compose it, and makes them to resemble one another in their feelings and actions Language is in very truth man himself".

But in India only sometime back the English language reigned supreme. Brought up in the cradle of slavery, people looked with an eye of scorn on their own language. They dreamt the dream of national upliftment only through the medium of a foreign tongue. "The essence of vulgarity", according to Ruskin, "consists in imitating the manners of others, without comprehending the effect really produced."

If English could become or had become the national language of India, then this country would have been transformed into a new edition of England and lost its identity as Hindustan. But Providence willed otherwise.

The truth is that language is the mother of a nation. That is why the far-seeing savants of India, the great leaders of men and things in this country, from Maharshi Dayanand to Mahatma Gandhi, have been busy creating a separate national language for this country, for they realised that if their language is dead, the nation could not exist. In Europe nations

have been built up on the basis of language itself. In spite of the identity of dress, manners and customs, the difference of language itself has given birth to so many nationalities in the west The Boers in South Africa also have rec ntly set about the building up a nation for themselves and for other white settlers, and for this purpose, they have created a separate language on the basis of the Dutch language. And since the national party is in power in South Africa, this language is fast spreading throughout that country. Some years back, the South African Government had issued an order to all its employees that they must learn the Afrikaan language in three months; if not, they should resign, failing which they would be dismissed from service. Thus it was made compulsory for every one to learn the Afrikaan language. During the period General Smuts was in power, English reigned supreme in the Union Parliament. But the National Government have now changed the very character of it. To-day every nationalist, from General Hertzog downwards, speaks the Afrikaan tongue and no one who does not know that language can follow the proceedings of the Union Parliament. This new nation of the Boers is called the Afrikaner and the language Afrikaan. And they openly declare that if the whites intend to live and prosper in the Union as South African, then they should sever all connection with their original home and language, identify themselves with the Afrikaner and make the Afrikaan language their own.

At the present moment how can they, who are engaged in the task of Indian nation-building, ignore

the national language ? How can there be any nation-building without national language ? And who can deny that Hindi is the national language of India ? I would even go so far as to say that not only in India, from one end of the country to the other, but even among the Indians overseas, it is Hindi alone which has occupied the position of a national language. Whether in the vast country of South Africa, or in the islands of Fiji or Trinidad, Demerara or Surinam, East Africa or Mauritius, everywhere you will be surprised to find the flag of Hindi flying high up in the sky. In those colonies it has become compulsory for every one, whether a Madrasi or a Gujerati, to learn Hindi. Hindi is the only vehicle of expression for exchange of thoughts between men coming from the different provinces of India. They cannot do without Hindi. No body has made any special effort to do any propaganda work for Hindi. But it has become the national language of the Indians abroad, simply because of its simplicity and extensive character, The Fiji Government has even introduced the teaching cf Hindi for Indian children in schools. The truth is that if our language is dead where shall we live ! It will be like a flower without scent, a body without soul.

Speaking about Bihar, Swamiji said that during the last civil disobedience struggle, this province had given a splendid account of herself, of her courage and capacity to suffer and sacrifice. In the face of that, it was indeed a matter of surprise, why Bihar was so apathetic towards her language. He was indeed pained to find that there was neither a living active

organisation for the spread of the Hindi language and literature, nor any powerful Hindi daily. Why was it so, asked the speaker. There was no dearth of Hindi writers and readers in this province. The fact is that Bihar alone claimed a major portion of the circulation of books, papers and periodicals published in other provinces. Why then were they in such a bad plight themselves ? Lack of imagination and the capacity to work could be the only reason, he thought, for this state of affairs in this province. It appears their slave mentality has begun to doubt the bright future of their national language. The rich and affluent, the fortune's favoured few, have no love either for their motherland or for their mother tongue; they, it appears, have specially been created by God only to slave and do nothing else. One of the landed magnates has only recently started a daily paper, but that too in English, under the editorship of an Englishman, recruited from England. Where else could you find a better example of slave mentality than this ? There is no dearth of English dailies in this country; rather their number exceeds the actual requirement. What a great thing it would have been if this huge amount of money that is being spent on this English daily had been devoted to the development of Hindi journalism in the land. There is no dearth in Bihar of rich men who could do a lot to themselves and help and co-operate a good deal with others in this work. But the majority of them are either miserly or do not know how to utilise their money properly in a good cause. In the Punjab so much is being done through the Gurukuls, the Dayanand Colleges and other

organisations for the spread and development of the national language. But Bihar has not done even one-tenth of what the Punjab has done in this direction. The people of Madras on their own strength have taken up the work of Hindi in their province. But what an irony of fate. The Bihar Privincial Hindi Literary Conference has not got enough money to take up the work of Hindi propaganda in Chhota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganas. Inscrutable, indeed, are the ways of Providence. Those who have got wealth have no heart and those who have heart are too poor to do anything. Some Bihari young men could go to far off Madras and do propaganda work, but the Bihar Provincial Conference cannot afford to utilise their services by paying them even their nominal maintenance allowance. Such is the miserable plight of this province over which they have to shed thousand tears. But let them not be disheartened or dejected on that account. Let the Conference appoint a committee of some Hindi enthusiasts who could go around the province and raise at least ten thousand rupees for propaganda work, particularly in Singhbhum and Santhal Parganas. Some Christian missionaries have taken into their head that the Santhali language should be written in Roman script and have begun warking in that direction. Its only effective check is the propagation of Hindi. Let it be remembered that if this work is neglected in any way or any slackness shown, there lies a grave danger in the future.

Proceeding, Swamiji drew attention to the situation created by the rival claims put forward by different provinces for Singhbhum and Manbhum. He said

that to-day Bengal claimed them as her own, and Oriyas also did the same, the former on the ground that the majority of inhabitants of those districts spoke Bengali, and the latter that in Singhbhum they spoke Oriya. Only the other day, the editor of a monthly magazine advocated the view that if any provincial redistribution was done on linguistic basis, then Jharia and some parts of Bhagalpur should go to Bengal because, it was said, they contained a majority of Bengali speaking population. Likewise, in the course of a talk with him, a prominent Oriya ex-M. L. A, said that if any provincial redistribution was to take place Jamshedpur should straightway go to Orissa. Thus while others were actively asserting their claims over parts of Bihar, Biharis were sleeping joyfully, they were not moving even their little finger. The speaker did not mind at all the separation of Orissa from Bihar. Their demand for amalgamation of all the Oriya-speaking tracts as one administrative unit was just and proper and he wished them all success in their endeavour in this direction. But he could not ignore their claim over territories that justly belonged to Bihar, on the plea that they contained a majority of Oriya speaking population. He found that India consciously or unconsciously also was going the way of Europe, of evolving a number of small nationalities on linguistic basis and the time was not far when there would be provincial redistribution on that line. For political reasons, there might well pervade the idea of unity and common nationality throughout the country, but the disease of provincialism was such for which there was no cure at all. "I warn

the Biharis," said Swami Bhawani Dayalji, "that if they do not rise to the occasion and actively safeguard their interests, if they even now show signs of slackness and neglected in doing what they owed to their province and to themselves, Bihar was sure to be dismembered and its parts joined to other provinces and a situation may be created that is too dreadful to contemplate It is, therefore, urgently necessary that they should refute in a most convincing manner the claims of the Oriyas over Singhbhum and show that they are nothing but Hindi speaking tracts of Bihar and they could not agree to their separation from this province. Besides this when this unjust claim is put forth that the majority of population in those parts of the province are Oriya-speaking, it is the bounden duty of Biharis to go to Singhbhum, hold meetings, consult the people of those parts and resolutions passed refuting the claims of the Oriyas. What is wanted is a strong agitation in this direction."

Swamiji next dealt with the question of Hindi and Urdu. He said that it was indeed unfortunate that such a question should at all be raised in Bihar. As a matter of fact, he said there was no difference between Hindi and Urdu. Both were the same language, their form only was different. In fact, the only difference was of script. Of late, it is true some Moulvis and Pandits had begun accentuating the difference between the two, the former by introducing too much of Persian and Arabic words in Urdu and the latter by using too much of Sanskrit words in Hindi. But this difference could well be done away with by taking out the difficult and uncommon Persian,

Arabic and Sanskrit words from the two languages. Then the difference remained only of script. With regard to this the speaker said that whatever merits might be claimed for the Persian script in which Urdu was written, it was after all a foreign script. Why should India in this age of Swadeshi and nationalism adopt a foreign script when she had already got a perfect script of her own ? The Mussalman brethren should remember that they were Indians first and anything else afterwards. Religion did not bring about any change in nationality or language. Islam surely did not and could not suffer for want of the Persian script. The claim that for the sake of Islamic civilisation and culture Persian script was a necessity was neither just nor in conformity with national ideas.

Concluding, Swamiji expected the Hindi speaking people not to waste their time in merely blaming and finding fault with others. They must do every thing possible themselves and actively take to the propagation of Hindi, developing and enriching Hindi literature and creating a real interest in and taste for them among the people.

APPENDIX VII

HINDU CONFERENCE IN NATAL

Presidential Address delivered by Shri Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, President of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (Aryan Representative Assembly) of Natal, at the Hindu Conference held at Durban on the 21st and 22nd October 1933, during the Rishi Dayanand Nirvana Semi-Centenary celebrations:

FRIENDS,

I can hardly find adequate words to express the gratitude that I owe to you for the honour that you have done me by electing me to preside over this Conference. Though I have accepted the presidential chair in compliance with your wishes, I cannot help feeling nervous about my inability to do justice to the task set before me. One thing, however, is certain and that is I cannot conduct the proceedings of this Conference adequately without your help and co-operation.

I feel it is my first duty to pay homage to the sacred memory of RISHI DAYANAND in the words of illustrious Poet, Ravindranath Tagore:—

"My reverential salutation to the great spiritual guide Dayanand whose vision hypothesised the unity and honour in the spiritual history of India; whose heart gained the light in almost every part of Indian life; whose message was to discard the ignorance and idleness, to bring out the ancient historical facts from darkness of unrighteousness into the truth and holiness. My frequent reverential salutation to that great spiritual Leader, RISHI DAYANAND."

The Dayanand *Nirvana* Semi-Centenary Celebrations will remain an ever memorable occurrence in the history of the Hindu Community in particular and of the Indian nation in general. "RISHI DAYANAND," said the Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh in his message to the Aryan Representative Assembly, "was a great Aryan, a great Indian and a great Man", but if you allow me to put it in a nutshell, I will say without any hesitation or fear of contradiction that Dayanand was the maker of modern India.

Actually only a half century has elapsed since he departed from this world, and what do we find to-day? His message of hope and goodwill are now practically carried out in letter and spirit not only by no less a personality than Mahatma Gandhi, but also by such institutions as the Arya Samaj and other Hindu bodies established for the general emancipation of India and the Indian nation. The varied and many sided activities of RISHI DAYANAND made India what she is to-day. He was the first person to declare Hindi as a national language for India; to urge the necessity of manufacturing and using only Swadeshi goods; to preach the observance of the doctrines of *Brahmacharya* (celibacy) and the establishment of a system of national education for the younger generation; to urge the removal of the barriers of caste and colour; to denounce untouchability in no uncertain manner; to raise the position of women, to reform the abuses of child-marriage, to announce to the world that the VEDAS knew no distinction between man and man, to teach humanity the lesson of brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, and, last but not

least, he advised the Indian nation to attain *Swaraj* without which he said they, cannot command respect in any part of the world. He was, therefore, rightly called the beacon-light of the nineteenth century.

The teachings of Dayanand have not only basically changed the conditions of life in India but it also commenced a new era and a new epoch in the history of Indians abroad. We find to-day unprecedented awakening among the Hindus of Mauritius, Trinidad, Demerara, Jamaica, Suriname, Fiji, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Mozambique Territory and the Union of South Africa. What was the position of the Hindus outside India prior to the advent of the Aryan Missionaries, who conveyed to them the message of the Rishi and to what extent has it improved to-day ? Many articles written by eminent writers and many speeches delivered by distinguished lecturers have thrown a flood of light on this matter and I do not wish to take up your time in repetition. Leaving the past entirely into the hands of historians, I think it would be fit and proper to deal with the present condition of Hindus and the future line of action to be adopted for our emancipation,

Our present condition is not entirely satisfactory nor is it altogether disappointing. It is not altogether disappointing, because we find a great awakening, love for religion and patriotism among our people. It is not entirely satisfactory because there still exists a deplorable lack of unity and the want of a central organisation, an organisation to voice the feelings and aspirations of the entire Hindu Community. It may be named as the Hindu Maha Sabha, Hindu Pratinidhi

Sabha or in any other suitable appellation may be given to it, but we cannot achieve the well-being, advancement and progress of our Community without the existence of a central organisation to co-ordinate and regulate our efforts. A central body known as the South African Hindu Maha Sabha was sometime ago formed in this Country, but owing to uncongenial circumstances it came to end in a year of two. Afterwards some patriotic Hindus made attempts once or twice to revive that Maha Sabha, but without success. Let us consider the obstacles in the way of revival or re-formation of a central Hindu organisation.

Firstly, we are divided into many castes and religious groups and each individual pays more attention to his sectional institution than to the central organisation. It is essential to remove this narrow-mindedness, to secure co-operation and goodwill among the various sections of our community. We must create a feeling among the Hindus that they are Hindus first and Calcuttias, Madrasis and Gujeratis or Sanatanists and Arya Samajists afterwards. This feeling will surely change our angle of vision into a broader and liberal form. Of course, it would take time and energy to create such feeling, but without it the existence of Hindus cannot be protected and their interests cannot be safeguarded.

Secondly, it has been often said that formation of the Hindu Maha Sabha will cause displeasure to the other denominations and that it may probably lead to communal feelings among Indians. But, let me say boldly that such a misunderstanding must not be allowed to exist for a moment. Whatever difference

there may be in India between the two great sections of the Indian Nation, our conditions are entirely different in South Africa. Our brotherly relation will remain as aver. It is my firm belief that the disunity and differences between the various sections is a curse to Mother India and only mutual understanding and goodwill may liberate Motherland from foreign domination. In India the different sectional organisations are engaged to achieve their political rights but here, in this country, our Sabhas are to do special and educational works among its members and to maintain the Indian culture and civilization, and to declare the policy in no uncertain manner that our Sabha will only organise the different Hindu sections under one banner and will introduce reform among its members. Our relation with other denominations will remain unimpared. We must abhor and condemn the communal feeling and hatred created by any section of the Indian nation It is certain that such organisation cannot last any length of time of which the foundation is laid on jealousy and enmity.

The Maha Sabha under reference will, I hope, be formed on the basis of sincere love and friendship, goodwill and co-operation with other denominations. We must proceed on similar line as adopted by the Transvaal Hindu Sewa Samaj. I do not think that any reasonable person will suspect the bonafides of our movement after such definite declaration of its policy.

Thirdly, it may be said that the formation of Hindu Maha Sabha will clash with another Indian political organisations of South Africa. This assump-

tion, in my humble opinion, is a misapprehension of the fact, because, as I have said already, the Maha Sabha will direct its energy in social unification and vernacular education, and in the protection of Indian Culture and civilisation. There are not any political rights separately possessed by any one section of the Indian Community constraining it to enter into the field of politics. As in this sub-continent, our fate is conjoined with that of other sections, that day will be a day of misfortune for the whole community when different sections will attempt to form their own political organisations, Our field of activities will be separate and distinct from that of the political organisations.

These explanations and declarations, I hope, have made our position quite clear and any allegation of communal hatred upon our part must be disregarded.

We have now to consider and decide, after the formation of central organisation, what line of action should be adopted as our future programme. I beg to submit the following suggestions for your consideration:—

(1) To bring about the social unification of Hindus and to celebrate togother Hindu festivals such as Diwali etc ,

(2) Tc establish Schools to impart vernacular education to the present and future generation of Hindus and to encourage and assist those institutions already in existence for the above purpose.

(3) To reform and/or discard such system and customs which may be considered a blot of Hindu Community. Any reform must be introduced gradually

by educating public opinion in its favour, and our Maha Sabha must refrain from doing any thing which might generate disunity among the Hindus.

(4) To erect a Hindu Hall in Durban for the benefit of every section of the Hindu Community.

(5) To invite such preachers from India who will preach the doctrine of love, truth and self sacrifice for the emancipation of the Hindu Community as a whole. Any preacher of narrow-mind or sectional outlook must not be encouraged for the sake of unity and brotherhood.

Many more important items can be added in this suggested programme of mine If you lay the foundation of a central organisation on this unique occasion, the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha will think that its labour and energy have not been wasted.

At this juncture, I am afraid that I may be charged with the self-praise, if I bring to your notice the services rendered by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. I may assure you that, that Sabha has done and is doing its best to serve the Hindu Community in its own humble capacity. That Sabha has appointed many preachers to spread the Vedic doctrines throughout Natal. That Sabha is also responsible for sending its preachers to visit the inmates of several prisons of Natal to impart religious instructions behind the prison bars. Its preachers also visit the inmates of the Mental Hospital, Maritzburg and recite Vedas and offer prayers for their return to sanity. That sabha always drew the attention of Hindus to the celebration of national festivals in proper and fitting manner. In brief, I may conclude by saying

that the Sabha keeps itself engaged in the service of the Hindu Community.

You are fully aware that this Conference was convened by the Sabha, and that it is responsible for all the arrangements. Whether the move on the part of the Sabha to form a central organisation meets with your approval or not, the Sabha will feel contented with the fact that it has done its duty to the Community. I hope you will not miss this opportunity, provided by this unique occasion for the formation of a central Hindu organisation, thus proving your love and affection towards Hinduism.

APPENDIX VIII

NATAL INDIAN CONFERENCE

Presidential Address delivered by Swami Bhawani Dayal, President of the Natal Indian Congress at the first Natal Indian Conference held at Durban on December 10 and 11, 1938.

Mr. B. Rama Rau, Mr. Mayor, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen !

This Conference which is the first of its kind in Natal, has been convened by the Natal Indian Congress and marks a new step forward in the history of this Province. It is certainly a privilege and an honour to me to preside at this Conference. In the name of the Congress, I extent to you a cordial welcome to the City of Durban. The Mayor of Durban, (Cr. Mr. Flemming Johnston) has consented to be present at the Conference and has just given a genial welcome to you all with that warmth of feeling and goodheart-

edness for which he is so well known among us.

I feel delighted to see present so large a number of delegates, who represent not only all important centres in the Province but every shade of public opinion. Recently the scope of our constitution was broadened and the whole organisation revitalised. We find the fruit of our work in the strength of the Congress and the support it receives from a vast majority of people throughout the length and breadth of Natal and in the enthusiasm with which Congress and its activities are welcomed everywhere. At no time in the history of Indians in Natal has any organisation of its kind been able as now to speak and act with one united voice, and my appeal and prayer to Indians of Natal is to increase its strength, contribute to its steady growth and give it the character of a national structure.

We are meeting at a time when the world is in a state of turmoil. We see every-where signs of unrest. Structures which have been built to preserve peace are tottering down. International relationship is strained and there is a wide tension of feeling. Democracy is being challenged and rights of people are being trampled down and the accumulated effect of these feelings creates uneasiness everywhere. Right is being assailed by might with the result that the principle of justice hardly finds a place in the dealings of one country with another, one nation with another, and one race with another. This state of feeling and uneasiness has given rise to many forms of oppression. We see hatred, racial animosity and bitterness, which drive the world to a state of discord and unhappiness.

The bulk of the Indian population lives in Natal, and Natal seems to have its share of the "Indian problem". We have seen in the years gone by the sad spectacle of what is called the "Indian problem" take different shapes, hue and colour. The intensity of the problem sometime grew to a calamitous degree. Our troubles have the knack of vanishing temporarily and reappearing in a more forceful form. We in Natal, nay, for that matter in South Africa, have become accustomed to these varying changes in our problems. It seems to me that these cycles of oppression and repression come at intervals. We saw the first cycle in 1896 when harsh laws were passed dispossessing Indians of Franchise rights, prohibiting free immigration of Indians into Natal, and restricting the rights of Indians to trade. We did what we could then to brave these trials but we lost heavily. These laws of 1896 and 1897 mark the first step of approval in passing undemocratic laws in a democratic country. The next evidence of this cycle is to be found in the year 1913 when the passive resistance movement had to be launched by that great man, Mahatma Gandhi, in the cause of justice and fairplay to Indians. This battle for elementary justice we won at a great sacrifice. The next phase of the cycle was in 1925 when the "Areas Reservation Bill", which proposed a territorial segregation of Indians, stirred the community. The justice of our claim, supported by the people and Government of India, made it possible for the withdrawal of the Bill. Then followed the First Round Table Conference between South Africa and India and its deliberations brought forth

the Capetown Agreement. Although the Agreement was conceived in a spirit of compromise and contained conditions favourable and unfavourable to Indians, yet it was accepted by the entire Indian community, because one single clause in the Agreement raised the hopes of our people and induced them to believe that a new era of peace had dawned upon them. That clause is known as the Uplift Clause and is worth repeating;—

> "The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that, in the provision of educational and other facilities, the considerable number of Indians, who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

It cannot altogether be said that the hopes the community placed upon a change of heart, which the Uplift Clause postulated, were altogether realised. Only in one direction, that of expansion in Indian education was something done. Yet much more remains to be done in this field. In Industry, Trade, Labour conditions, Housing, and removal of Slums, our condition is not altogether bright. In fact, our position has become worse.

Coming to the Conferenee itself you will be asked to deliberate and take decisions on important subjects concerning the welfare of our people, such as Education Social Services, Industrial Legislation, Housing and

Slums, Trade Licences. Land Ownership. Firearms, Hospital and Medical Services, Agriculture and others. It is my earnest appeal to you to consider these subjects and give them your deep attention and arrive at sound decisions. Resolutions on paper never achieved anything but resolutions backed up by firmness, strength and the will to carry them through will bring a measure of success.

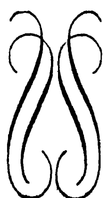
I have already stated that we in this country are going through difficult times. Trials of life we have to endure, if we have to succeed. Mental agitation and the anxiety to secure better conditions for our people have found expression in proposals to form a "United Non-European Front". This shows the desperate condition of our people. Youth movements have sprung up to give expression to the feelings of the youth, who desire to take their share in carrying out a programme of national work. It is to be noted that tension of feelings overseas has brought repercussions in its train even in this country. An example of this will be found in the anti-Semitic incident, which took place in the Transvaal recently. These repercussions may breed hooliganism and racial animosity. As a race we must show goodwill to other races and as a race we must countenance no illwill or harm to others. The Indian is known as a law-abiding and orderly person and we must uphold this tradition at all cost.

Every cloud has its silver lining and in our struggles to maintain our status and self respect, to be treated as nationals of South Africa, I am thankful to say that we can count upon a large number of European

friends and sympathisers in this country with liberal thoughts and high ideals to assist us to reach the goal of citizenship.

I must also take this opportunity of thanking the present Agent General and his predecessors for their labour, ungrudgingly given, for the welfare of our community in all fields, political, social and economic. Nor must I omit the Government of India, whom the Agent General represents, and who, as India develops constitutionally, will become an ever stronger champion of our rights.

One word more and I have done. The re-awakening among our people encourages me to hope that solidarity and unity of thought and action will be our watchword in all our work for the welfare of our people. Let me say that this Conference will and must prove that the bogey of disunity alleged to exist among us is no more with us and that we are firmly united. Let this Conference also prove that we as South Africans are worthy of this country and that we are ever ready to serve the interest of South Africa, our home, and if need be, shoulder her burden and trials as true South Africans



INDIAN COLONIAL ASSOCIATION,
AJITMAL, ETAWAH, (U. P.), INDIA.

(Established in 1932)

Patron:

SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI.

President:

PANDIT TOTARAM SANADHYA.

General-Secretary:

SHRI PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL, M. A.

This Association is serving the cause of Overseas Indians since 1932. It has so far organised two Indians Overseas Conferences; arranged questions to be raised in the Indian Legislative Assembly and done a lot of propaganda work to bring the problems in the forefront and get the grievances redressed of our countrymen abroad.

BUILDERS OF GREATER INDIA

This book will shortly be published by the Indian Colonial Association in Hindi and English. It would contain the life and activities of those who have laid the foundation and tried to build the Greater India, with particular reference to their work about Indians abroad.

Please send in all information about them including their photos to the Secretary and thus help us in this great undertaking.

MODERN PROBLEMS OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

(In Hindi)

प्रवासी भारतीयों की वर्तमान समस्याएं ।

BY SHRI PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL, M. A.

Published by the Mansarover Sahitya Niketan, Moradabad, U. P., India. Price Rupee One.

With a foreward by Swami Bhawani Dayal.

An exhaustive discussion of several important problems of Overseas Indians confronting them at the present moment. They include:— Hundred years of Indian emigration; Indian news in the colonies; Communalism among Overseas Indians; Indian trade with the colonies; Repatriation; Indian missionaries abroad; Colonial students in India; Arya Samaj in the colonies; Hindi and Indian settlers; Future problem of Indians Overseas.

The book has been highly spoken of by the people and press in India and abroad.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND OUR PUBLIC WORKERS

By

SHRI PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL, M. A.

To be published both in Hindi and English.

The public workers ought to depend on their own earnings while rendering service to the people. A powerful plea for their economic independence. Interesting discussion on several important questions connected with our public life. Following subjects are fully discussed:—

Our public workers and their sources of income; who are our leaders; reward of public service; waste of public money; institutions that help workers; public life and youngmen; problem of public life.

First book of its kind. It should be read by public workers and the people alike. Book your order in advance to ensure your copy.

Enquiries can be made and orders booked with the Secretary, Indian Colonial Association, Ajitmal, Etawah, (U. P.), India.

SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI

This is the only book by Swamiji which is obtainable as others are all out of print. This book contains Vedic hymns along with their English translations and lessons in Hindi poetry. By having this book in hand there is no need for any other in the performance of daily religious duties.

It is also supplemented with national songs, every line of which inspires the one with patriotism and nationalism.

It is obtainable from—
RAMDUTT B. DAYAL,
"BHAWANI-BHAWAN",
Third Avenue
Jacobs, Natal, South Africa.